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Assarting and governmental development in twelfth-century England: a study of the pipe roll evidence concerning illegal land clearance, 1154-1189

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**Assarting and governmental development in twelfth-century England:
A study of the pipe roll evidence concerning illegal land clearance, 1154-1189**

by

Kevin Dale Hill

**A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

Major: Agricultural History and Rural Studies

**Program of Study Committee:
Kenneth G. Madison, Major Professor
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Iowa State University

Ames, IA

2002

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has met the requirements of Iowa State University**

Signature was redacted for privacy.

Major Professor

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For the Major Program

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

From the sixth to the eighth centuries, agricultural laborers undertook a massive clearance of woodland in England. By 1086, the time of the Domesday survey, only fifteen percent of England remained wooded. From about 1086 through 1286, a great and increasing need for land on which to grow food developed. The response to this demand brought all varieties of land — fen, waste, and cleared forest — under the plow. Those farming the land cleared small patches of land, called assarts, in and along the edges of forests. Assarts slowly encroached upon the woods. In Chilterns and Sussex Weald 180,000 hectares (444,600 acres) of woodland were cleared in approximately 260 years. Extensive clearances occurred in the wooded areas of Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Surrey, Berkshire, Northampton, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Yorkshire, Somerset, Dorset and Suffolk. By 1350, the area of England which remained wooded had shrunk to ten percent.¹

Assarting had an important impact on the countryside of medieval England, but assarts and their economic and political ramifications have largely been neglected by historians. This study of assarting provides a broad examination of the Pipe Roll evidence concerning assarts on royal lands in England between 1154 and 1189, making a contribution not only to land history, but to our understanding of the development of medieval government and the Exchequer.

The study of assarting is essential to understanding the growth of government and the impact it had on the countryside. The evidence found in the Pipe Rolls indicates that illegal

¹Paul Stamper, "Woods and Parks," in *The Countryside of Medieval England*, Grenville Astill and Annie Grant, eds. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1988), 129.

assarting in the Anglo-Norman era not only occurred more frequently than historians heretofore have believed, but that contrary to historiographically established notions, it was not truly discouraged by the crown's use of the dreaded Forest Law. The engine driving the land clearance was a growing population and the need for food. The land was clearly worth the price of the fine to the assarters, and evidence suggests that the crown saw the infractions made by assarters as tolerable because of the income it drew from the fines levied on the cleared lands. No one has undertaken a study dedicated to assarting, and what information has been published focuses largely on the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and treats assarting as a tangent of some other subject. The aim of this study is to explore some of the economic and political issues concerning the crown's interest in and the profits it derived from assarting during the twelfth century.

The evidence presented in this discussion is organized and presented in three parts. The primary goal of the first part is to establish a chronological narrative account of the events concerning assarts and assarting activity throughout the realm of England between 1154 and 1189. This account will illustrate both the magnitude of the activity and the manner in which the royal government coped with the situation. The second part is a shire by shire narrative account of the evidence. This is designed to illustrate the geographical range of the enforcement of laws concerning assarting, as well as to illustrate how the Exchequer continued to monitor the situation from year to year in a given area. The third part examines the people who received pardons for their infractions on royal lands and reveals still more about the political nature of the governmental process set up to deal with those responsible for assarting fines. Excerpts from the raw data that are relevant to each of these parts are

available in APPENDICES A, B, and C.

Before beginning this discussion, further introductory remarks are both necessary and appropriate. Included in this introduction is a discussion of the historiography surrounding this topic and a brief overview of the assarting process, as well as a discussion of the methodology employed in this study.

In agricultural history, a great deal of discussion focuses on crops, crop rotations, technological developments, and livestock production, but rarely have historians made a study of the land, the fields on the land, or the development of those fields. Given this trend, it is no shock to find that agricultural historians have commonly treated assarts only tangentially, and it is difficult to find significant discussion of them in the existing historiography. Typically, assarts are referred to only in passing. Even in cases where the author implies that they were quite important, the assumption is that readers will instinctively grasp the importance of these clearances without any real discussion of their impact. That assarting occurred and that it had an impact is assumed, but few authors discuss these issues in any significant manner. There are exceptions, of course. Although one would be hard pressed to call the information a “discussion,” one does find a reasonable amount of useful information on assarts and assarting in the second volume of *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, edited by Joan Thirsk, *The Countryside of Medieval England*, edited by Grenville Astill and Annie Grant, and Charles Young’s *The Royal Forests of Medieval England*. Architect Roland Bechmann provides extensive discussion about assarts in France in his less-than-well-reviewed work *Trees and Man*. In his much more respected work dealing with England, *The Medieval Economy and Society*, M. M. Postan devotes a

reasonable number of pages to the topic of land reclamation, but his emphasis is on impermanent assarts on marginal land and the settlement of these areas, rather than on the effects of the assarts in the larger picture. In contrast to Postan's approach, Carenza Lewis, Patrick Mitchell-Fox and Christopher Dyer devote three pages to the subject of the larger consequences of assarts in *Village, Hamlet and Field*, but they base their assertions on the records concerning a few major manors. R. H. Hilton mentions assarting in his work on the West Midlands, *A Medieval Society*, and so do H. E. Hallam in his book *Rural England, 1066-1348*, and C. S. and C. S. Orwin in their work *The Open Fields*. In addition, a standard piece of writing on the subject is T. A. M. Bishop's 1935 article, "Assarting and the Growth of the Open Fields."² These are for the most part fine studies and they contain valuable information, but even these really only treat assarts tangentially. Because they do not focus specifically on assarting, they all come up somewhat short on the topic in general, and most lack information on twelfth-century assarting.

Young's *Royal Forests of Medieval England* provides the best overall discussion of general information concerning assarts. Young emphasizes the royal forest, how assarts affected the forest, and the modification of forest law because of assarts, but excludes an in-depth discussion of the assarts themselves. In fact he notes that the detailed mechanisms of assarting are not of primary importance for the history of the royal forest in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.³ The essays in Astill and Grant's volume likewise provide

²T. A. M. Bishop, "Assarting and the Growth of the Open Fields," *Economic History Review* 6 (1935), 13-29.

³Charles R. Young, *The Royal Forest of Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), 122.

important information but only in a roundabout way. Hallam, Hilton and the Orwins provide information about the locations of assarts, but very little else.

The most disappointing of the studies were, ironically, those of Joan Thirsk and T. A. M. Bishop, the two works from which one would expect to gather the most information. Thirsk discusses the existence of assarts by the mid-twelfth century, but she chooses to use their existence to expand her discussion of new settlements and the significance of place names.⁴ Thirsk's work does discuss rents of assarts, but only in vague terms and with little clarity about what information the source material actually provided and what she simply inferred. For example, she might note that in a particular case, "party A paid x amount for assarts of x acres." This tells us nothing of the quality of the land or the crops planted on it, and one must seek out the charter to determine how much of the information it actually provided and how much was the author's mathematical calculation. Without more specific information, her conclusions about rents and acreage are at best questionable. Indeed, we shall soon see the difficulty in determining the number of assart acres based on the rent paid.

Bishop's seminal article provided Thirsk, Young, et al., with a source for information on assarts. Because his article is so highly regarded with respect to assarts, one would expect to find in it a wealth of information on the subject. In fact, reading his article causes a disturbing revelation. Like other authors, Bishop treats assarting only as it applies to his main topic, the growth of open fields. He asserts that widespread assarting necessarily pre-dates the expansion of the open field system, but he offers no evidence, discussion, or

⁴Joan Thirsk et al., eds., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume II: 1042-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 149 and *passim*.

speculation to fuel the notions of later authors, who believe that their work is grounded in Bishop's. "Assarting and the Growth of the Open Fields" provides valuable information and a good starting point for thinking about assarts, so perhaps any fault lies with historians who subsequently chose to make generalizations about assarting based on Bishop's work, rather than dig into the sources for themselves.

As the demand for food grew from the tenth to the early fourteenth centuries, more and more land fell under the plow to accommodate the increasing demands placed on agriculture. Those farming the land frequently expanded their fields in a piecemeal fashion by clearing small patches of land in and around woodlands and waste lands. These small, often enclosed, fields carved from the woods and waste were called assarts. Assarting was an important activity for all levels of society from the peasant to the crown, yet as we have seen assarts have been largely ignored by agricultural historians. The collective economic and social impact of assarting on the English countryside was vast, yet writers almost universally treat assarting as a tangent to another subject, and those who do discuss assarts usually focus on the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

In order to fully grasp the impact made by assarting, it is useful to examine, in general terms, the physical process of assarting and the potential impact such an undertaking had in medieval agricultural society. Since most of the secondary information available focuses on the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, so must most of our background discussion of assarting. Because the mechanics of assarting changed very little, and because one assart varies little in its physical characteristics from other assarts, much of the information about later centuries remains relevant to the twelfth century. We will see, however, that the

attitudes of the landholders toward assarting changed a great deal during the three centuries from 1100 to 1400.

An assart is in essence a small, sometimes enclosed, field which results from clearing and removing trees and undergrowth from a previously un-farmed area, often a forest but sometimes wasteland. H. C. Darby asserted that the use of the word “assart” dates to at least the time of the Domesday survey. He believed that we derive “assart” from the French *essarter*, meaning to “grub up” or clear the land of bushes and trees.⁵ Although in use by 1086, assarts only appear in Domesday entries for Herefordshire. The following are the four “unique” Domesday entries from Herefordshire which refer to assarts, as cited by H. C. Darby:

Fernhill (184b): Wood there half a league long and 4 furlongs broad, and assart land for 1 plough renders 54*d.* (*et terra ad i carucam de Essarz reddit liiii denarios*).

Leominster (180): Of the land reclaimed from the wood, the profits are 17*s.* 4*d.* (*De exartis silvae exeunt xvii solidi iiii denarii*).

Much Marcle (179b): In the same manor are 58 acres of land reclaimed from the wood, and the reeve and 2 other men hold several acres of this same land (*In eodem manerio sunt lviii acrae terrae projecte de silva, et prepositus et alii ii homines tenent plures acras de ipsa terra*). In this entry *essarz* is interlined above *projecte*.

Weobley (184b): The wood is half a league long and 4 furlongs broad. A part is there and assart land for one plough renders 11*s.* 9*d.* (*et terra ad i carucam de Essarz reddit xi solidos et ix denarios*).⁶

Making an assart was an expensive and labor-intensive undertaking. After the trees

⁵H. C. Darby, *Domesday England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 189. Various others suggest the word is derived from Latin.

⁶Darby, 189.

were cut down, workers removed roots and stumps in a process called “stocking”. Drainage of the land could be required, especially if wasteland or fen was the object of the assart. Virgin soil would often require fertilizing or marling.⁷ After stocking and draining, another expensive endeavor, the enclosure of the assart with ditches, banks, or hedges, could proceed if necessary. Manorial records from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries record these expenses, but not in a manner which allows modern historians to calculate per acre costs. Peasant assarters carried out these tasks themselves, so they often had little money but a great deal of labor invested.⁸

In considering the costs associated with assarting, one must not exclude the all-but-certain legal ramifications, which happen to be the focus of the larger portion of this study. An assart could potentially step on many important toes. If it encroached upon or lay within a royal forest, as the assarts in this study did, the assart usually resulted in a fine payable to the crown. Whether the landlord was royal or not, he would require an entry fine and rent on the land. If located upon church land, the church would require a tithes. Because of the enclosure, an assart might infringe upon someone’s pasture and grazing rights. Villages sometimes clashed violently over assarts and other changes to land, especially waste, if it had previously been common ground. These disagreements often ended with the impounding of animals or the forced removal of fences.⁹

⁷Marl is a loose or crumbling soil (often sand, silt or clay) that contains substantial quantities of calcium carbonate, and is used as fertilizer for soils deficient in lime.

⁸Thirsk, 227.

⁹Christopher Dyer, “Documentary Evidence: Problems and Enquiries,” in *The Countryside of Medieval England*, Grenville Astill and Annie Grant, eds. (Oxford: Basil

The peasant frequently took on the role of innovator in medieval agriculture. Landlords adopted new technologies, and monastic orders, such as the Cistercians, brought order and rationality to agriculture, but peasants undertook the vast majority of assarts.¹⁰ The landlord most likely possessed the capital to pay for the labor it took to make an assart, and, since many lords held woodlands, the opportunity to assart certainly existed. Religious houses, too, possessed the adequate capital and the necessary access to woodlands, but assarts most often appear in the hands of tenants rather than in the hands of the lord or as part of the demesne. The lord happily granted wasteland to cultivators, and then, equally as happily, collected rent on any lands granted and subsequently cleared and developed. A land holder stood to gain substantial profits by letting out waste in this manner.¹¹

Most grants consisted of two to fifteen acres, but occasionally they ran up to sixty acres. Most scholars believe that small-scale assarting, undertaken by peasants, played a major role in the process of settlement. It is believed that settlement patterns, in turn, reflect the prevalence of assarting in a given area. Heavily assarted areas frequently resulted in diffused and fragmented settlement patterns. Peasant assarters moved out of the old villages and set up new homesteads on their recently acquired lands, and isolated farmsteads and hamlets resulted.¹²

This study will argue that while such settlement no doubt did take place in areas

Blackwell Ltd., 1988), 24.

¹⁰Dyer, 25.

¹¹Thirsk, 227-228.

¹²Thirsk, 228-229.

where assarting occurred, all assarting could not have resulted in such settlement patterns. The amount of work involved in making an assart was more than any one peasant could undertake at a time, so like most agricultural work performed in twelfth century England assarting was likely a community project. The result of a such a community effort would probably not be that one peasant's family would leave the village to live on such valuable, recently-cleared arable land. It seems more likely that a major community effort would likely lead to some kind of common use of the land, which would logically be incorporated into the manor's open fields. If every assart resulted in an isolated homestead, few villages would have been left by the end of the twelfth century. Indeed, the sheer quantity of evidence concerning assarts leads one to conclude that much assarting must have occurred along the edges of the forest, in small plots that the assarter probably hoped to conceal from either the landlord or forest officials, or both. In considering the nature of the fines, one might conclude that frequently the landlord was aware of the activity, and the general hope was to elude discovery by the sheriff or royal forest officials as they made their rounds.

Charles Young too argues that small assarts made by individuals also represent the norm in the royal forests, but of course his focus is really a later period.¹³ Exceptions to this rule include occasional instances of large-scale assarting, which may reveal the work of a manorial lord, and forest records indicate that monasteries often played a significant role when large tracts of land came under the plow for the first time. At Windsor, even the king himself took part in extensive assarting when no damage to the forest would result.¹⁴ During

¹³Young, 121.

¹⁴Young, 122.

the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, assarting brought countless acres of royal forest land into the agricultural economy. Charles Young notes, “Although the records are not adequate to support any conclusion about the amount of land newly brought under cultivation, there can be no question of a general upsurge in farming activity as the result of continued assarting.”¹⁵ This new farming activity, taken with other economic activity in the royal forest, forever changed the nature of the forest.

Assarting without permission in a royal forest was illegal, because the king wanted to maintain his forests both for hunting and to ensure he had access to an ample supply of wood, which was a valuable commodity. Indeed, the crown considered assarting a particularly grave offense because it involved uprooting the trees and removing them forever, in contrast to “wasting” the land, which merely involved cutting down trees, leaving the possibility that they might grow back.¹⁶ But as the demand for farm land grew, so did the instances of assarting. Agricultural demands pushed landowners to turn to forest lands for greater profit, “and amercements for assarts confirm that lands were being brought under cultivation without license from the king in spite of forest law.”¹⁷ As this study will show, however, the increase of amercements for assarts may not correspond to an increase in land clearance, but to a growing efficiency on the part of the medieval government.

Most economic historians agree that the demand for more arable land brought the

¹⁵Young, 122.

¹⁶*The Great Roll of the Pipe of the Reign of Henry the Second*, v. 3, Pipe Roll Society, 71. Commonly and hereafter referred to as the Pipe Rolls.

¹⁷Young, 35.

continued expansion of land under the plow in England throughout the thirteenth century.¹⁸

As it became more profitable to put land into production, more landlords allowed and encouraged assarting. As the instances of this increased, the crown recognized the potential for its own profit. Even in the twelfth century, the vast economic benefits of assarts led many royal officials to quietly recognize most assarting in return for income assessed from the rents, a notion supported by the evidence found in this study.¹⁹ Noted Young:

A rather obvious illustration that economic factors could out-weigh hunting in policy decisions is the routine policy for dealing with assarts by assessing fines and collecting rents rather than requiring that the assarts be abandoned in the interest of keeping the area undisturbed for the beasts of the forest.²⁰

When deciding whether or not to grant an assart in a royal forest, royal officials simply determined whether the king's potential profit from the assart outweighed the potential damage to the forest. The only other consideration, already noted, was whether or not the assart would infringe upon the right of common held by other men in the forest.²¹

An assart might lay on one's own property, but one nevertheless needed royal permission because of overriding forest law. The royal right to license an assart became a valuable commodity and the expensive gifts offered to the king in return for a license reflect this value, as does the king's tendency to grant licenses to men whom he wanted to reward

¹⁸Young, 121.

¹⁹Young, 121.

²⁰Young, 55.

²¹Young, 122.

for outstanding service.²²

Naturally the official penalty for making an assart without permission varied with each case and over time, but during the twelfth century the official position was, according to Richard Fitz Nigel, as follows (italics added):

Since, then, the making of an assart is an offence against the King's forest ... the offender, thus punished ought not to go quit without the special command of the King. Now, although this reasoning is subtle and almost convinces some; it has this objection, *that there is a common and fixed penalty for such offenders, to wit a perpetual rent of one schilling for each acre sown with wheat, and sixpence for each sown with oats. These sums make up a total for which the Sheriff must answer at the Exchequer, just as he does for the total amount of the schilling or two schillings per hide throughout the county which is called a common assize.*²³

In order to prevent illegal assarting, the crown instituted the office of the forest regard, which made a regard, or general inspection, of the forest to determine whether or not anyone had made any illegal assarts and thereby brought forest land under the plow, built any buildings or other encroachments, known as purprestures, or had cut any trees and thereby created waste in the forest.²⁴ While most activity related to the forest regard is associated with the thirteenth century, evidence indicates that the office was at least periodically active during the reign of Henry II.²⁵ In addition to regarders, the crown appointed wardens,

²²Young, 122.

²³Charles Johnson, ed. and trans., *The Course of the Exchequer by Richard Fitz Nigel and the Establishment of the Royal Household*, Revised ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 57.

²⁴Young, 87.

²⁵Emilie M. Amt, "The Forest Regard of 1155," *The Haskins Society Journal* 2 (1990), 189-195.

foresters and justices of the forest, all of whom enforced forest law, which included provisions concerning assarts. Special inquests, designed by the crown, identified unauthorized assarts and the king's itinerant justices recorded the results of these cases in the eyre rolls. The evidence of men such as Alan de Neville and Thomas FitzBernard, who held these offices and conducted such inquests, runs rudely through the Pipe Rolls, the trail of energetic and ambitious officials enthusiastically pursuing their mission.

The actual punishments for unlawful assarting varied with each case. Sometimes punishments varied within a given case. For example, the abbot of Tintern had a penalty of "payments" imposed for thirty-three acres that had been sown three times, forty acres sown five times, and for twenty acres and fifty acres which were both currently sown at the time of the inquest, but for the abbot's two other assarts of thirty acres and two hundred acres, the justices decreed the land taken into the king's hands and ordered that their enclosures be torn down. Of course, the king would often take the option of granting someone the right to assart on royal land, or the petitioner's own land, even retroactively, provided the assart(s) would not be detrimental to the forest.²⁶

The crown regularly granted special privileges or exemptions from forest law to groups or individuals. Such exemptions modified the royal forest in a legal and administrative sense, but except for the establishment of a park, they did not allow physical changes in the forest. Assarts, however, were a different story. Even in the twelfth century, evidence shows that kings made exceptions when accepting and approving assarts which resulted in reduction of the forest and new land coming under cultivation. Forest law allowed

²⁶Young, 109.

barons of the Exchequer *ex officio* exemption from rents for assarts they made before King Henry I's death in 1135, but even those not equal in status to the barons of the Exchequer commonly received grants of exemption from rents. Special licenses and charters from the king allowed individuals to assart without penalty under certain circumstances or within certain specifications. However, most assarts, approved or not, meant a perpetual rent for the owner and perpetual income for the crown.²⁷

So goes the current interpretation of assarting activity between the years 1100 and 1400. This view is generally accepted. Is it generally correct? Probably, but as has already been noted this study must take issue with some of the finer points. The problem with the view as it exists is that historians built it on a tiny quantity of evidence. The few historians who have examined assarts relied primarily on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century charters for their information. From the information in these later charters, historians have made a few generalizations about the earliest assarts which allow them to draw often convenient conclusions, and then focused their studies on information drawn from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sources, such as the royal correspondence recorded in the Close Rolls and Patent Rolls, both of which begin during the reign of King John (1199-1216).

Earlier studies universally ignored the annual financial reports made to the Exchequer by the sheriffs, called Pipe Rolls,²⁸ "properly known as The Great Roll of the Exchequer: the

²⁷Young, 47.

²⁸*The Great Roll of the Pipe of the Reign of Henry the Second, 5th to 34th years*, 38 vols. (London: Pipe Roll Society, 1883-1925).

record of the annual audit of the accounts of sheriffs and of other debtors of the Crown.²⁹

One Pipe Roll survives from 1129-1130, during the reign of Henry I (1100-1135). No more survive until the second year of the reign of Henry II, and after that they continue in an almost unbroken sequence.³⁰ Some historians treating assarts have dabbled in the Pipe Rolls from the reign of Richard I (1189-1199). The Pipe Rolls which are published and easily accessible provide a great number of references to early illegal assarting, and may be able to help us form a dynamic, rather than static, picture of land clearance. They allow us to observe the expansion of the arable, as reflected in the fines and rents levied on assarts by the crown. Pipe Roll entries tell us how much was collected, or not collected, in each county, by whom, each year. They also tell us who did not have to pay, or who was forgiven for their infraction.

Twice a year, at Easter and Michaelmas (September 29), the Exchequer took account of royal finances. Bryce Lyon provides a fine rendering of what happened at the Exchequer sessions in his work on English constitutional history, but a full explanation of the process is not necessary here.³¹ What is necessary to understand for this study is this: the Exchequer never forgets. At each session, the Exchequer required all of its officials and all of the king's sheriffs to show up, and all royal officials had to offer an accounting of their business to date.

Many people reported accounts at the Exchequer, but the largest number of those reporting were sheriffs. In reports concerning assarts and other activity related to illegal land

²⁹W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London: Eyre Methuen Ltd., 1973), 635.

³⁰W. L. Warren, *The Governance of Norman and Angevin England, 1086-1272* (London: Edward Arnold, 1987), 73.

³¹Bryce Lyon, *A Constitutional and Legal History of Medieval England*, second edition (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1980), 257-265.

clearance the primary reporters were most frequently sheriffs. Occasionally, a private individual or individuals noted to have been the king's chamberlain reported. As the records progress, royal officials known as foresters appear in the record. Foresters were itinerant officials responsible directly to the crown and concerned with enforcing forest law, the special set of notoriously strict codes that regulated activity in royal forests. These men do not appear in the record as reporters at the Exchequer sessions. They appear instead in frequent notations to the sheriffs' accounts that indicate that all or part of the particular reported sum had been levied by a forester. The names found most typically in these notations concerning foresters are Alan de Neville and Thomas FitzBernard.

Occasionally, one finds other officials noted in the sheriffs' accounts as having levied fines on assarts or related infractions, and these appear to have been the crown's justices in eyre, sometimes called justiciars, who also traveled the kingdom in an attempt to extend royal justice to the far reaches of the realm. To further complicate the situation, the pragmatic nature of medieval government left no space for concerns about modern concepts such as "conflict of interest," and officials often held multiple offices at one time. For example, Richard Humez served for years as sheriff of Rutland and Constable of Normandy, and R. W. Eyton noted in his *Itinerary of King Henry II* multiple cases of men who held the offices of justiciar and sheriff at the same time.³²

Of the two Exchequer sessions, the Easter session was less formal. Some money may have changed hands and officials cut tallies as receipts for sums already paid, but it appears

³²R. W. Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II instancing also the Chief Agents and Adversaries of the King in his Government, Diplomacy, and Strategy* (London: Taylor and Co. or Cornhill, Dorchester: James Foster), 1878: 199n.

to have been more informational and an opportunity for treasury officials to check up on the sheriffs' activities. At Michaelmas, the real business occurred and each sheriff offered his year-end account, paying rents, taxes, and other sums he collected, and accounting for fines and amercements he had been charged to levy. The Exchequer clerks meticulously recorded these reports at the Michaelmas session. One clerk kept a roll called the Chancery Roll, a second clerk kept the account that came to be known as the Pipe Roll, and for much of Henry II's reign Master Thomas Brown kept a third account for the king's personal reference.³³ The clerks recorded what a sheriff was supposed to owe, what he paid, and the sum that remained outstanding if he did not clear his debt. If a debt remained, it faced the sheriff when he reported for the next Exchequer session.

Most entries for assarts in the Pipe Rolls have a fairly simple form and contain certain standard information. They state the sum of the sheriff's account for the assarts in his county, how much money he contributed to the treasury, and what amount, if any the sheriff still owed. A typical entry might read as follows, "The same sheriff [as first listed many entries above] gathered rents of £14 and 10s. for wastes and assarts and pleas of the forest of Hampshire. In the treasury is 20s. And still owed is £13 and 10s."³⁴ To be more clear, the Sheriff reported assarts, or fines for assarts, worth £14 10s. in his county. He paid the Exchequer 20s., which left him £13 10s. in the red. In addition to this information, many entries contain information about individuals or churches who received a pardon for their part

³³Lyon, 262.

³⁴Pipe Rolls, v. 26, 168. *Idem vicecomes redd. comp. de .xiiij. l. et .x. s. de wastis et essartis et placitis foreste de Hantescr'. In thesauro .xx. s. Et debet .xiiij. l. et .x. s.*

of one of the fines. Noting the pardon, the Exchequer would appropriately credit the sheriff's account.

The data contained in the Pipe Rolls that concerns assarts and related fines is overwhelming. Over eight hundred entries exist that fit the requirements for this study. After inserting the data into a Lotus 1-2-3 file, these entries melded together to form a massive computer database, containing eight hundred thirteen entries. Data from each part of the Exchequer entry fit a different field in the database. Fields designed for information include: the official's office, his name, the year, the shire, sums accounted for, sums paid to the treasury, sums remaining owed, sums pardoned, the name of the pardoned individuals, the category of the fine, the subheading under which it appeared, the volume number and page, and a miscellaneous column.

Sheriffs made up the vast majority of the officials who reported collecting monies for assarts at the Exchequer, although some Chamberlains and private individuals do appear. Including fields in the database for the official's name, the shire, the year, and the names of pardoned individuals appeared to be a necessity, since these would be needed to help identify a variety of potential relationships that may exist in the record. Recording the volume and page number, as well as a column of miscellaneous notations, merely aided in keeping research straight.

Dealing with the names of people and places proved to be a problem. In addition to the fact that the information recorded in the Pipe Rolls is heavily abbreviated, the inconsistencies in medieval spelling made it difficult to know from year to year whether individuals mentioned in the record were the same people. A great deal of difficulty also

existed in determining place names. During the process of building the database, names of people and places were entered as nearly as possible to the way they appear in the record. If one were to look at the database in the appendices one would see sheriffs with names such as “*Rogs’ de Stutuill*,” “*Hug’ de Bochlanda*,” and “*Thomam filium Bernardi*,” references to monasteries at “*Wauerlai*,” and “*Sewerdeslega*,” and pardons extended to “*militibus de Templo*,” and “*episcopo Winchester*.” The data was entered this way to help retain the original flavor of the documents for the benefit of any future use. In writing up the narrative, however, these names and places were standardized, thus the sheriffs become Roger de Stuteville, Hugo de Bokeland, and Thomas FitzBernard, the monasteries are located at Waverley and Swardsley, and the pardons went to the Knights Templar and the bishop of Winchester. The most useful guide in determining the modern place names was C. T. Martin’s *The Record Interpreter*, and this was followed closely by David Knowles’s *Monastic Order in England*, which was useful in determining the English names of monastic houses. On occasion even these works could not provide a modern equivalent for terms, and those undetermined words remain in the narrative essentially in the same form as they appear in the Pipe Rolls.

Keeping track of the money proved a larger problem. Medieval English money was not based on a decimal system. The basic unit and only coin that existed in this period was the silver penny, or *denarius*. Twelve silver pennies formed a *solidus*, or shilling, and twenty shillings equaled one pound or *libra* (£), so called because the weight of the 240 pennies that formed it was one pound of silver. In addition to this, there was the unit known as a mark, which represented money of account, but which did not physically exist. The mark

represented two-thirds of a pound, or 13s 4d. Exchequer clerks frequently recorded Pipe Roll entries in marks, and all of these had to be converted, usually directly into pennies, to fit into the database. For reference:

$$1s = 12d$$

$$£1 = 20s = 240d$$

$$1m = £\frac{2}{3} = 13s 4d = 160d$$

Modern computer programs are not readily able to deal with these sums. More recent versions of computer databases may handle this problem more effectively, but at the time this project began such programs were more simplistic and difficult to manipulate. Attempts to bring the data into a modern program that will allow for some conversion of the data have met with no success. Therefore, for each “category” of money (accounts, payments, debts, and pardons) three separate fields had to be formed. The first field of each grouping contained pounds, the second shillings, and the third pennies. Thus to enter data into four categories concerned with money and payments took twelve fields in the database.

Recording a field for the category of the fine helped keep various offenses straight. The database uses a number to identify the fine. The digits one through four indicate whether an entry identified a fine levied on 1) assarts, 2) assarts and waste, 3) assarts, and waste, and pleas of the forest, or 4) assarts, waste, pleas of the forest, and/or a further related offenses, such as building a purpresture or a case of forfeiture of land. While not exclusively concerned with assarts, the fact that assarts appear in all of them links all the accounts to illegal land clearance of one form or another. As the reign of Henry II progressed lumping these related fines together became the norm for royal officials and by the 1180s fines for

assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest were regularly entered together and fines for assarts alone become increasingly rare. During the research for this project, it soon became apparent that to determine anything about illegal land clearance, the study had to hinge on assarting. Waste can too often refer to things other than illegally cleared land, and in any event the crown did not consider “wasted” land to have been permanently cleared.³⁵ Many entries that contain part of the fine listed as “pleas of the forest” give other indications that these offenses involved damage to the trees and plant life, rather than killing deer or some other non-vegetation crime. However, it seems reasonable to conclude that if the terms “waste,” and “pleas of the forest,” occur with “assarts,” then the three fines had been lumped together because they had common characteristics.

In addition to these categories, sixty-two subheadings under which sheriffs paid these accounts exist. Categories such as “New Pleas and New Customs,” “Concerning Purprestures and Escheats,” “Concerning Pleas of Alan de Neville,” head various sections of the Pipe Rolls. How these ultimately fit into the larger picture of the Exchequer session is not clear and sources conflict on the meanings of these headings. They may indicate what the money paid under them was to be used for, but if this is the case it is impossible to determine who assigned the heading. The sheriff may have designated certain monies to go toward certain debts, or the Exchequer officials may have assigned the headings somewhat randomly to help them account for certain sums that they knew were needed to meet various obligations. The subheading field may be analyzed in future if more clarity on its meaning

³⁵For a good, if brief, discussion of this see: Emilie M. Amt, “The Meaning of Waste in the Early Pipe Rolls of Henry II.,” *Economic History Review* 44 (1991), 240-248.

can be ascertained.

Once the construction of the database was complete, the next step was to begin analyzing the data, and the computer database made this process not only very fast but fascinating. The computer could sort that data according to a variety of parameters. The newest computer programs would permit the data to be sorted in a much larger variety of ways—three dimensionally, in one sense, rather than two dimensionally—but the data for this study were entered on the equipment available and affordable at the time of its inception in the late 1990s. Initially, the database existed in a DOS environment, and attempts to convert it to a Windows environment (needed for the latest software) have not been wholly successful. The Lotus 1-2-3 database can be read by Microsoft Excel or Corel Quattro Pro as a spreadsheet, but it cannot be converted to a Windows driven database, such as Microsoft Access. The result is that the number of ways the data can be sorted is somewhat limited, but even within this limitation some very interesting and sometimes surprising results emerged.

One discovery that emerged involves the nature of the conclusions one can make with the available data. Like the charters used by other historians, the Pipe Roll data reveal little about medieval agriculture. Any conclusions drawn about agricultural practices would be nothing but speculation. Likewise, it is not possible to write a work of historical geography or an environmental history from the data in the Pipe Rolls. While one may initially find it tempting to look at the quantity of fines and the locations of the fines to draw conclusions about the effect of assarting on the English landscape, this is not possible. Most of the fines, as this study will show, occurred in areas of particular interest to the crown. Those interests varied from year to year, and with the rounds of forest officials. In addition, the fines occur

in greatest concentration in the center of the country, near Winchester and London, the seat of royal government. The further a county was from the king, the less likely that royal officials heavily fined its assarters.

The history of assarts in the Pipe Rolls is the history of the focus, activity, and development of the royal government. This study reveals little new insight into medieval agriculture *per se*. Rather, it offers insight into the economic benefit that befell the crown because of the expanding arable land. It also reveals a process of development. Through the systematic study of the Pipe Roll fines one finds evidence for the development of royal government during Angevin times, and this in turn sheds light upon issues that are currently at the center of debate among historians specializing in this period. Currently, the significance of the reigns of Stephen (1135-1154) and Henry II is the object of re-examination and revision, and this study of assarting offers evidence for use in this debate.

The question at the heart of the revision is really one of “political significance.” Who made the greater contribution to the political development of England, Stephen or Henry? Was Stephen’s reign really that damaging, and was Henry really such a master politician? Did things really get as bad under Stephen as the chroniclers say? After all, what is “anarchy,” really? Did Henry really have to pull the government back from a feudal abyss? Are the chroniclers simply giving Henry a nod, since he did ultimately prevail, and he was the king who ruled while they wrote?

The evidence in this study can only lead one to “pro-Henrician” conclusions. It is undeniable in the face of the evidence in the Pipe Rolls that the English royal government during his reign, which was operated by his personal appointees, developed increasingly into

a professional organization functioning with objectives in mind that transcended the personal interests of the barons carrying out governmental functions. The degree to which Henry II was personally involved is not revealed in the Pipe Rolls, but as we shall see, his men worked hard on his behalf and turned what the sources indicate to have been rudimentary feudal arrangements into a government capable of functioning in the absence of the king.

PART I:
CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE

INTRODUCTION

The best way to begin an exploration of the assart-related data contained in the Pipe Rolls is with a chronological examination. The following is an account of the information found in each entry examined for this study. While this is admittedly not exciting history, it is necessary for it establishes important groundwork that can be used to build later parts of the study.

In the beginning decades, note that entries for assarts are rare and far between. As the decades pass, the numbers slowly increase, indicating not necessarily an increase in land clearance but an increase in the activity of royal officials in the countryside. Sheriffs make not only increasing number of accounts per year as time passes, but note the appearance of forest officials, especially Alan de Neville and Thomas FitzBernard, two of Henry's top foresters. The sums of money that flowed into the royal treasury thanks to fines levied on assarts also continue to increase throughout Henry II's reign, and at times fines are startling in their size.

In addition, one may observe that the number of men making accounts to the Exchequer is finite, not only in any given year but throughout the reign. While there is some turnover due usually to death, clearly, the English crown relied on a relatively small group of men. Many of these men, while serving as sheriff or forester, likewise, sometimes simultaneously, served as royal foresters or justices in eyre. The men paying the fines were in close contact with the men levying the fined and those collecting the revenues. They are well-organized and the records they kept were meticulous.

THE 1150s AND 1160s

The first record in the pipe rolls of anyone being fined for assarting was in 1159. Richard Engaigne of Huntingdonshire is recorded as owing £1 6s 8d. for assarts.¹

The following year, several assarts were reported. Robert de Stafford, sheriff of Staffordshire, accounted for £30 worth of fines for assarts in his jurisdiction. He paid £20 13s 4d into the treasury, and reported that £7 6s 8d were pardoned because those who owed the fine possessed letters of pardon from the Crown. This left a balance of 40s owed by Robert to the Exchequer.²

In Shropshire, the sheriff, Guy Extraneus, reported an account of £3 6s 8d. He paid £1 6s 8d into the treasury, leaving an outstanding balance of £2.³ William de Beauchamp, sheriff of Gloucester, reported that his county owed £5 6s 8d. Six shillings and eight pence of his total, owed by the earl of Leicester were pardoned, and he paid nothing into the treasury, leaving him a debt of £5.⁴ Richard Engaigne is again reported owing £1 6s 8d.⁵ R. Humez, sheriff of Rutland, reported an account of 13s 4d for assarts, and this same amount is recorded in the treasury, leaving him "quit."⁶

The sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, Ranulph de Engelram, reported fines

¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 1, 54.

²Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 7.

³Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 27.

⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 29.

⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 34.

⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 39.

totaling £20 4s 8d for the year 1160. He paid £8 18s into the treasury and owed a balance of 20s. The remainder of his debt was consumed by pardons: the abbot of Derby was pardoned for 13s 4d; the Hospitallers received a pardon for £3; and the bishop of Chester received a pardon for £6 13s 4d.⁷

Peter FitzSimon, sheriff of Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire, reported an account of £53 6s 8d for fines levied on assarts at the Michaelmas Exchequer meeting in 1160. He paid the crown £31 10s 2d. He then reported a large number of individuals and institutions who received pardons from the crown for their offenses. Henry FitzGerard received a pardon of £1 6s 8d, the wife of Hugo Gubuin received a pardon of £1, and Geoffrey de Vere received a pardon of 13s 4d. The crown pardoned fines of 10s for Gilbert de Pinchinni, £2 for Hugo de Hamesclape, and £1 7s for the abbey of St. Edmund. The king of the Scots (*tra Reg. Scotie*) received a pardon of £2 13s 4d. The king granted William Malduit a pardon of £3 6s 8d. The monks of Pipewell and the monks of Bittlesden received pardons of £1 6s 8d each. The Knights Templar received a pardon of 13s 4d. The crown extended pardons of 6s 8d to the monastery of Bec, £1 to William, brother of R[obert?], £1 6s 8d to the Knights Hospitaller, and £2 19s 6d to the king's constable, Richard Humez. The sum paid plus the total of the pardons reported, cleared Peter FitzSimon's account.⁸

In total, during the year 1160 Exchequer clerks recorded a total of £112 18s in accounts for fines levied on assarting and related forest offenses. They collected £63 1s 6d, and reported pardons that totaled £32 9s 10d. For the year, this left sheriffs reporting on

⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 44.

⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 37.

these accounts in debt to the crown £9 6s 8d.

In 1161 Ralph FitzEngelram, presumably the same Ralph from the previous account, reported 20s owed for assarts in Nottingham and Derbyshire. He paid nothing, but the account was cleared by letters pardoning the monks of Runfort for 20s.⁹

Robert FitzTroite, sheriff of Carlisle, reported owing 13s 4d in 1163. He paid the same amount into the treasury and was even with the Exchequer.¹⁰ Hugo Gubuin, sheriff of Northamptonshire, reported owing 20s. He paid 20s into the treasury and cleared his account.¹¹ Sheriff Bertram de Bulem of Yorkshire reported an account of £1 6s 8d for fines levied on assarts at Michaelmas, 1163. He paid the fines for offenses assessed in Calueton and Gernag (Wakefield and Jersey) in full.¹²

The year 1164 also saw only two reported incidents of assarting fines. The sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdon, Geoffrey de St. Maurice, and Buckingham and Bedfordshire, Milo Neirenuit, each reported a debt of 6s 8d.¹³ The next year the same men accounted for the same amount. Milo Neirenuit paid 6s 8d into the treasury clearing his debt, while Geoffrey de St. Maurice received a pardon, also clearing his account.¹⁴

William Basset, sheriff of Warwick and Leicester, reported having collected fines

⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 4, 31

¹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 6, 10

¹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 6, 37.

¹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 6, 60.

¹³Pipe Rolls, vol 7, 17 and 30.

¹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 8, 22 and 61.

totaling 17s 6d for assarts and waste in 1166. The Exchequer records that he paid the same amount into the treasury.¹⁵ He had an identical account in 1167.¹⁶

In Berkshire, Robert de Inglesham reported at the Exchequer in 1167 that he owed £13 6s 8d for fines levied on 10 acres of assarts in Wicha. He paid the treasury 10s, reducing his debt to £12 16s 8d.¹⁷ The prioress of Bardsey reported in 1167 that her house owed £1 for assarts in Yorkshire. The sisters paid their debt in full.¹⁸ In Cambridge and Huntingdon, Philippe de Daventry reported collecting 13s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid the full amount into the treasury.¹⁹

William Basset collected and paid 17s 6d for assarts and waste in Warwick and Leicestershire in 1168.²⁰ Robert de Inglesham reported to the Exchequer in 1168 that he owed a debt of £12 16s 8d to the crown for fines levied on assarts on ten acres in Wicha.²¹

From 1161 through 1168, the total sum reported for accounts levied on assarting and related forest crimes totaled £22 5s 10d. Sheriffs and other reporters paid the treasury £7 4s 2d, and cited pardons worth £1 6s 8d, leaving a debt to the crown of £26 6s 8d for the period.

In 1169, Sheriff William Basset collected and paid 22s 6d for assarting offenses in

¹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 9, 69.

¹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 11, 163.

¹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 11, 8.

¹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 11, 94.

¹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 11, 167.

²⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 12, 57.

²¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 12, 201.

Warwick and Leicestershire.²² Robert de Inglesham reported owing £12 16s 8d to the Exchequer for fines on assarts in Wicha. He paid the crown 13s 3d, reducing his debt to £12 3s 5d.²³

Nicholas Clericus, sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, reported an account in 1169 of £77 19s 11d for fines levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville. Nicholas paid the crown £23 3s 1d, and reported several pardons. Arnulf de Ardragh received a pardon of £2. Anselm Campdauen received a pardon of £8 3s 8d. The canons of Standsted received one pardon of 2s and one pardon of 1s. This left Nicholas the Clerk with a debt to the Exchequer of £44 10s 2d.²⁴

During the year from Michaelmas 1168 to 1169, sheriffs and others reported a total of £91 19s 1d. They reported pardons extended to various individuals and groups that totaled £10 6s 8d, and they paid the Exchequer £24 18s 10d. This left a debt for the year of £57 13s 7d.

During these early years of Henry II's reign the Exchequer officials were no doubt feeling their way along, trying to re-establish a long abandoned process. Likewise, the reporting sheriffs found themselves in transition from being shire officials to crown officials. Their loyalties to Henry were varied, and even the most loyal were probably unsure of the extent of their responsibilities. As the Exchequer and sheriffs gain an understanding of their duties, more sheriffs will report assarts with more regularity.

²²Pipe Rolls, vol. 13, 25.

²³Pipe Rolls, vol. 13, 79.

²⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 13, 127.

THE 1170s

The Michaelmas 1170 meeting of the Exchequer saw a dramatic increase in the number of assarts and assart-related reports made by sheriffs. Nothing clearly explains the 1170 increase in the number of entries, but the jump may have had something to do with the effects of the Assize of Clarendon (1166), the Inquest of Sheriffs (1170), and the use of the assizes of *novel disseisin*, which dealt with those claiming to have been dispossessed of their land, and *mort d'ancestor*, which dealt with claims of those unable to collect their inheritance. As officials carried out these assizes and inquests, the crown no doubt grew increasingly aware of happenings in the countryside. The Inquest of Sheriffs led to the replacement of twenty sheriffs in 1170, and the loyalties of their replacements lay more often with the crown than the shire.²⁵ As the years' accounts proceed, note also that the amount collected by sheriffs in some areas also increases dramatically, beginning immediately.

1170

Richard de Humez, sheriff of Rutland, reported an account of £8 16s 8d for assarts and wastes. He paid the Exchequer £4 and reported that £2 10s owed by Wakelin de Ferariis had been pardoned. This left him with a debt of £2 6s 8d.²⁶ The debt was recorded as accounted for through Simon FitzPeter, one of Henry II's commissioners appointed in matters concerning the recovery of the royal demesne.²⁷

²⁵Warren, *Governance*, 108-118.

²⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 24.

²⁷Warren, *Henry II*, 274.

Two collected payments were reported in Buckingham and Bedford during 1170. The first, reported by David Archdeacon and William FitzRichard, amounted to £31 4s 3d, and was named specifically in conjunction with the forest of Buckinghamshire. The sheriffs paid £25 8s 1d to the treasury and reported that William Malduit, Chamberlain, had received a pardon of £2 18s 4d for his part of the fines. This left a balance owed of £2 17s 10d.²⁸ The second report of fines was for a total amount of £21 3s 6d and was reported by David Archdeacon alone, specifically for the forest of Bedfordshire. £10 5s 10d was paid into the treasury, and David Archdeacon reported that the crown granted a pardon to the king's Chamberlain, Henry FitzGerman of £1 10s 8d. This left a balance due of £9 7s.²⁹

Sheriff Robert Trite reported an account of £40 14s 4d for assarts, wastes, and pleas of the forest in Carlisle for 1170. He paid the treasury £35 14s 4d, and reported a pardon of £5 for the monastery of Holmcultram, leaving the account even. The fines were levied for infractions on the forest of Cumberland.³⁰

The year 1170 also brought the first really large fines levied for assarting and related activities. Sheriff Robert de Stuteville of Yorkshire reported an account of £217 5s 6d for assarts, waste, and other various infractions. To the treasury he paid £180 5s 9d, leaving a debt of £18 14s 8d. Robert de Stuteville also presented letters pardoning a large portion of what he owed on this account. A pardon of £6 13s 4d went to Henry de Lacy. The crown granted a pardon of 25s to the Abbot of Byland, and likewise granted the Abbot of Kirkstall a

²⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 30.

²⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 30.

³⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 32.

pardon of £7 10s. Stephen de Turnofra received a pardon of 6s 8d. As was frequently the case, Stuteville then made another accounting of the same debt, this time reporting that he owed £18 14s 9d. He paid the Exchequer £16 14s 9d, leaving a balance owed of £2.³¹

In Northumberland, Sheriff Roger de Stuteville reported owing £33 16s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, specifically in the forest of Northumberland. He paid £30 into the treasury, leaving him in debt to the crown £3 16s.³²

William de Beauchamp, the sheriff of Worcester, reported an account of £84 20d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid the Exchequer £77 10s. Of this the crown pardoned the Abbey of St. Augustine de Bristol of a fine for £2 5s, the Archbishop of Scots (i.e. *Pict'*) of 6s 8p, and the Monastery of Bordesley of 13s 4p. This left a debt of £3 6s 8p.³³

The sheriff of Hereford in Wales, Walter de Beauchamp, reported an account of £52 9s 8d for assarts and waste in 1170. He paid £3 to the treasury and reported that Hugh de Lacy had been granted a pardon by the crown for 13s 4d, leaving him in debt to the Exchequer £48 16s 4d.³⁴

Alard Banastre, sheriff of Oxfordshire, reported an account of £36 2s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Oxford in 1170. He paid the Exchequer £33 2s and reported a pardon granted to Richard de Camville of £1, leaving himself a debt of £1.³⁵

³¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 41.

³²Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 49.

³³Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 56.

³⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 59.

³⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 69.

In Berkshire in 1170, Robert de Inglesham, named with a note indicating an ecclesiastical office (i.e. *arch.*), probably that of archdeacon, reported a debt of £12 3s 5d. He paid the crown nothing.³⁶ In Nottingham and Derby, Robert FitzRalph, another one of the few non-sheriffs to appear at the Exchequer to account for assart-related fines, reported owing £9 13s 4d for assarts and waste. He paid the full amount into the treasury, clearing his debt.³⁷

Bertrand de Verdun, sheriff of Warwick and Leicester, reported accounts for assarts and related fines in 1170. The first he reported was an account of 25s 6d for assarts in the forest of Stanley, which he paid in full.³⁸ The second account was for assarts and waste in the forest of Leicester. The amount he reported owing was £6 2s 8d, of which he paid £4 8s into the treasury. Richard de Camville received a pardon of 26s 4d and Reginald FitzUrse received a pardon of 8s 4d, which cleared the debt.³⁹

Ebrard de Beche and Warren de Bassingeburn, serving jointly as sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdon, reported fines in their counties for assarts and waste totaling £22 18d in 1170. They paid £7 5s 2d to the Exchequer, and reported that the King of Scots (i.e. *Regi Scottie*) had been pardoned a fine of £4 13s 4d, leaving the sheriffs a debt of £10 3s.⁴⁰

Robert Mandel, sheriff of Essex and Hertford, brought an account to the Exchequer of

³⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 71.

³⁷Pipe Roll, vol. 15, 85.

³⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 86.

³⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 89.

⁴⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 95.

£44 10s 2d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. The treasury received £7 17s 6d, and acknowledged the pardon of William Larval for 11s 8d, leaving a debt of £36 12d.⁴¹

Sheriff Hugo de Gundeville of Hampshire reported an account in 1170 of fines levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Hampshire that totaled £152 15s 8d, of which he paid £112 15s 4d. The sheriff then reported several pardons extended to offenders. The monks of Bec received a pardon of £2. The crown extended pardons of 10s to Alard FitzWilliam, 17s 4d to Rolland de Dinan, £1 to the archbishop of Roth, and 3s to P. Broch. Constable Richard de Humez, Walter de Lisle, and Chamberlain William Malduit each received a pardon of 6s 8d, and Ranulph de Broch received a pardon of £1 5s. His payment and the pardons reduced the county's debt to £33 5s.⁴²

The sheriff of Stafford, Herve de Stratton, reported a rather large account of £109 4s 10d for assarts and waste in 1170. He paid the treasury £57 7s 4d. The crown granted three pardons to three ecclesiastical violators of royal lands. The bishop of Chester's fine of £25 6s 8d was pardoned, as were the fines of the Monastery of Combermere who owed £3 6s 8d and the canons of Radmore who owed 6s 8d. This left the shire in debt £22 17s 6d.⁴³

In 1170 the sheriffs of Shropshire, Geoffrey de Verdun and William the Clerk, reported owing £90 9s for assarts and waste. They paid into the treasury £73 14s 4d, and reported several royal pardons. The crown pardoned the abbey of Beldewas a fine of 66s 8d, the abbey of Haughmond 20s, and Gerard Choch 40s. This left Shropshire a debt of £10 8s.

⁴¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 107.

⁴²Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 125.

⁴³Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 131.

Reporting on the same account and same debt, the sheriffs paid 53s 4d more into the treasury and reported another royal pardon of 53s 4d granted to the Knights Templar. This left Shropshire in debt £5 16d.⁴⁴

In summary, during 1170 Exchequer clerks recorded a total of £1100 3s 10d in accounts designated as fines for assarting and related activity. The treasury received £752 17s 11d, and officials reported £113 7s 4d. This left a cumulative debt to the crown of £245 2s.

1171

In 1171, Alfred de Lincoln, sheriff of Somerset brought to the Exchequer a report of £108 4s 3d worth of fines assessed for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest of Dorset. He paid the treasury £72 10s. The crown issued pardons of £6 13s 4d for the fine of Geoffrey de Maine, £6 13s 4d for Robert de St. Pancras, 40s for Nicholas de Stuteville, and 26s 8d on behalf of Robert de St. Marie and his church. This left a balance owed of £19 11d.⁴⁵

Richard de Wilton, sheriff of Wiltshire, reported having assessed £15 10s 2d in fines for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest that year. He contributed £9 10s 2d to the Exchequer, and reported royal pardons for the sums of 26s 8d owed by William FitzHam, and 6s 8d owed by Thomas Basset, leaving £4 6s 8d outstanding.⁴⁶

The sheriff of Shropshire, Guy Extraneus, accounted for £5 1s 4d in fines for assarts

⁴⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 133.

⁴⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 17.

⁴⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 22.

and waste in 1171. He paid the Exchequer £2, leaving £3 1s 4d outstanding. Similarly that year, the sheriff of Hampshire, Hugh de Gundeville, reported assessing fines for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest totaling £33 5s. He paid the treasury £7 7s 8d, leaving himself in debt of £25 17s 4d.⁴⁷

In Northamptonshire, Robert FitzSewin reported an account of 23s for assarts and waste. He paid only 3s, but reported a pardon by the king's letters of 20s, clearing his debt. Herve Stratton, sheriff of Staffordshire, also reported an account including a pardon in 1171. Stratton reported owing £22 for assarts and waste, of which he paid the treasury £11 17s, and he reported a pardon granted to the monastery of St. Ebrald for the sum of 26s 8d. This left him a debt of £9 13s 10d.⁴⁸

Three non-sheriffs reported accounts concerning assarts and waste in 1171. Richard de Humez reported an outstanding debt of £2 6s 8d, assessed for assarts and waste by Simon FitzPeter in Rutland.⁴⁹ In Berkshire, Robert Inglesham reported an account of £12 3s 5d for assarts. He paid the Exchequer £1 6s 8d, leaving him in debt to the crown £10 16s 9d. Langley lord de Sanford, reported a debt of 6s 8d for assarts, also in Berkshire.⁵⁰

David Archdeacon and William FitzRichard, joint sheriffs of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, reported an account of £9 7s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, of which

⁴⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 33 and 39.

⁴⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 47 and 54.

⁴⁹Pipe Roll, vol. 16, 47.

⁵⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 90.

they paid £4 6s 8d to the Exchequer. This left them in debt to the crown £5 4d.⁵¹

Robert de Stuteville, sheriff of Yorkshire, reported to the Exchequer assessing fines totaling £2 for assarts, waste, and forfeiture in the forest of Yorkshire in 1171. He paid the treasury 6s 8d, leaving him a debt of £1 13s 4d.⁵² Also reporting fines assessed for assarts, waste, and forfeiture, the sheriff of Northumberland, Roger de Stuteville, accounted for £3 16s. He paid the treasury in full for his account.⁵³ Sheriff William de LaLega of Hereford in Wales reported collecting fines worth £48 16s 4d for assarts and waste. He paid the Exchequer £16 3s, leaving £32 13s 3d outstanding.⁵⁴

In Berkshire, Sheriff Hugh de Bokeland reported an account of £21 13s 6d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest that he collected in 1171. He paid the treasury £3 1s 6d, leaving him in debt £18 12s.⁵⁵ Bertrand de Verdun, sheriff of Warwick and Leicester, reported an account of £1 9s he collected for assarts that year.⁵⁶ He paid his account in full, as did the sheriff of Worcester, Ranulph de Lench, who reported an account of £3 6s 8d for assarts, waste and pleas of the forest.⁵⁷ Ebrard Beche and Warren de Bassingeburn, joint sheriffs of Cambridge and Huntingdon, reported an account of £10 3s, of which they paid nothing to the

⁵¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 60.

⁵²Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 67.

⁵³Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 76.

⁵⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 83.

⁵⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 91.

⁵⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 92.

⁵⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 98.

crown. They reported a pardon of 5s which had been granted to Geoffrey de St. Maurice, leaving them a debt to the Exchequer of £9 18s.⁵⁸

Sheriff Robert Mantel brought an account of £151 17s 5d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest for Essex and Hertford in 1171. He paid £2 into the treasury, and reported numerous pardons for offenses within the forest of Essex, collected through Alan de Neville and his associates. The crown pardoned Robert de Ruilli of a fine for 15s, Alice Capre for a fine of £2, the abbey of Bello of 10s, Walter de Hadfeld of 2s 6d, Wigo of 5s 3d, Derkin de Acre and Henry de Kemesech of a £2 12s 10d fine, royal Constable Richard de Humez of a £5 2s fine, and the abbey of Colchester of 9d. This left Mantel with a debt of £100 9s 1d. He then made a second account for this debt, in which a pardon of £18 9s 4d was cited for the fine of Earl William de Mandeville, leaving Mantel with a debt to the crown of £81 19s 9d.⁵⁹

In Oxford, Sheriff Alard Banastre reported an account of fines for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest worth £1. He paid nothing to the Exchequer for the fines, but reported a pardon for 6s 8d extended to William de Caisneto, leaving the county in debt to the crown 13s 4d.⁶⁰

At the second Exchequer meeting in 1171, officials recorded a total of £551 5s 2d in accounts rendered on assarting and related activities. Reporting officials paid the treasury a total of £139 4s, and cited pardons that totaled £51 2s 8d. The crown's accounts remained in debt £326 14s 3d.

⁵⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 115.

⁵⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 124.

⁶⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 134.

The first report recorded in the Pipe Roll of 18 Henry II concerning waste and assarts came from the sheriff of Hereford in Wales, Gilbert Pipard, who reported owing as debt to the crown £32 13s 4d in 1172.⁶¹

William FitzRalph, sheriff of Nottingham and Derby made two reports concerning assarts and waste in 1172. The first report accounted for £13 6s 8d owed for assarts and waste in his counties. He paid nothing, but reported that the crown had issued a pardon for the full amount to the monastery of Rufford, leaving him with no debt to the Exchequer.⁶² The second account cited fines totaling £18 12s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Berkshire, of which William FitzRalph paid £2 to the crown. He reported a pardon to Richard de Lucy for £1 6s 8d of the fine, leaving a debt to the crown of £15 5s 4d.⁶³

Robert de Inglesham reported that he owed the crown £10 16s 9d for fines on assarts in Wicha. He paid the treasury £1 6s 8d as part of the Nottingham and Derbyshire account in 1172. This left Robert a debt of £9 10s 1d.⁶⁴ Langley Iord reported a debt of 6s 8d for assarts in 1172. He reported a pardon extended to Chamberlain Ade FitzIord of 6s 8d, clearing his account.⁶⁵

The Exchequer recorded that Alard Banastre owed a debt of 13s 4d for assarts, waste,

⁶¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 3.

⁶²Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 8.

⁶³Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 15.

⁶⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 14.

⁶⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 14.

and pleas of the forest in Worcester in 1172. Likewise, Sheriff and Constable Richard de Humez owed a debt of £2 6s 8d for assarts and waste in Rutland, as assessed by Simon FitzPeter.⁶⁶

In Essex and Hertford, Sheriff Robert Mantel reported an account of £4 12s 8d for fines collected for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid nothing into the treasury, but reported a pardon issued to Ade Fitzlord for £2 17s 6d, leaving the county farm in debt £1 15s 2d.⁶⁷

Sheriffs of Buckingham and Bedfordshire, David Archdeacon and William FitzRichard, reported fines totaling £5 4s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Bedford in 1172. The Knights Templar received a pardon of £3 4s for their part of the infraction, leaving the two sheriffs with a debt of £2, which went unpaid.⁶⁸

In Yorkshire, Sheriff Robert de Stuteville recorded a debt to the crown of £1 13s 4d for assarts, waste, and forfeiture in the forest for 1172.⁶⁹

Alfred de Lincoln, sheriff of Dorset and Somerset reported to the Exchequer in 1172 that he had assessed fines worth £19 11d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest during the previous year. He paid the treasury £16 19s 1d, and reported pardons issued to Richard de Camville for £1 12s, and to the Archdeacon of the Scots for 6s 8d. This left Alfred de

⁶⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 20 and 38.

⁶⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 42.

⁶⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 51.

⁶⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 59.

Lincoln a debt to the crown of 3s 2d.⁷⁰

Hugh de Gundeville, sheriff of Hampshire, reported an account worth £25 17s 4d collected for offenses concerning assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Hampshire at the meeting of the Exchequer in 1172. He paid the treasury £2 18s 9d, and reported a pardon of £7 for the offenses of the monastery of Waverley. This left a debt to the crown of £15 18s 7d.⁷¹

In Devonshire, Sheriff Robert FitzBernard reported assessing fines worth £6 4s 2d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Devonshire. He paid the treasury £1 6s 8d, leaving a debt of £4 17s 4d.⁷² Herve de Stratton, sheriff of Staffordshire, reported an account of £9 13s 10d for assarts and waste. He paid £5 3s 4d, leaving a debt of £4 10s 6d.⁷³ Bertrand de Verdun, sheriff of Warwick and Leicester, made a report of £1 9d collected for assarts in Stanley, and paid his account in full.⁷⁴

Some sheriffs reported only owing money to the Exchequer in 1172. Guy Extraneus, sheriff of Shropshire, reported a debt of £3 1s 4d for assarts and waste that year.⁷⁵ Ebrard de Beche and Warren de Bassingeburn, joint sheriffs of Cambridge and Huntingdon, reported a debt £9 18s, which was associated with fees assessed by several of the king's men, including

⁷⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 75.

⁷¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 82.

⁷²Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 101.

⁷³Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 105.

⁷⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 107.

⁷⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 111.

William Basset.⁷⁶ Richard de Wilton, sheriff of Wiltshire, reported a debt of £4 6s 8d for offenses committed in the forest of Wiltshire.⁷⁷

For the year ending Michaelmas 1172, the Exchequer recorded a total of £115 4d in accounts levied on assarts and related offenses. The treasury collected £31 3s 6d, while officials reported pardons that totaled £29 16s 6d. This left a debt to the crown for these accounts that totaled £108 12s 10d.

1173

The frequency of sheriffs reporting only debt and paying nothing to the crown increased in 1173. The sheriff of York, Robert de Stuteville, reported only debt amounting to 33s 4d for assarts, waste, and other offenses of the forest .⁷⁸ Likewise, Robert Mantel, sheriff of Essex and Hertford, made two reports that year, each citing only debt. The first debt he reported was for 35s 2d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Essex. The second, more significant debt concerned assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest amounting to £48 5s 8d.⁷⁹ Richard de Humez of Rutland reported a debt of 46s 8d for assarts and waste assessed through Simon FitzPeter.⁸⁰ Gilbert Pipard, sheriff of Hereford in Wales recorded a

⁷⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 114.

⁷⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 126.

⁷⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 7.

⁷⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 16 and 18.

⁸⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 38.

debt of £32 13s 4d for assarts and waste.⁸¹ Hugo de Gundeville, sheriff of Hampshire, reported debt amounting to £15 for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest of Alan de Neville.⁸² David Archdeacon and William FitzRichard, sheriffs of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, reported owing £2 to the crown for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.⁸³ Richard Wilton, sheriff of Wiltshire, entered a debt of £4 6s 8d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.⁸⁴ Sheriff Guy Extraneus of Shropshire recorded a debt of £3 1s 4d for assarts and waste.⁸⁵ The sheriff of Devonshire, Earl Reginald, entered a debt of £4 17s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.⁸⁶ Ebrard de Beche and Warren de Bassingeburn, sheriffs of Cambridge and Huntingdon, owed the Exchequer £9 18s for assarts and waste in Huntingdon,⁸⁷ and Alard Banastre, sheriff of Oxfordshire, entered a debt of 13s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.⁸⁸ Finally, Alfred de Lincoln, as sheriff of Dorset and Somerset reported a debt of 3s 2d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.⁸⁹ In all these cases, the Exchequer recorded only debt, but the treasury clerks made no notation in these entries regarding what the sheriff

⁸¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 41.

⁸²Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 47.

⁸³Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 74.

⁸⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 100.

⁸⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 109.

⁸⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 147.

⁸⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 159.

⁸⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 170.

⁸⁹Pope Rolls, vol. 19, 193.

presented to them (e.g. a citation beginning *Idem vicomte redd. comp. . .*). They did not report having collected or assessed a specific sum, only to make no contribution to the treasury, thus remaining in debt. Only the debt is recorded.

Not everyone reporting on assarts and forest offenses in 1173 dodged paying anything into the treasury. Herve de Stratton, sheriff of Staffordshire, reported an account collected for assarts and waste of £4 10s 6d. He paid 13s 4d, leaving a debt of £3 17s 2d.⁹⁰ Robert de Inglesham of Berkshire reported owing £9 10s 1d for assarts and other offenses of the forest. He paid the treasury £1 6s 8d. This left an outstanding balance of £8 3s 5d.⁹¹ Also in Berkshire, Sheriff Hugo de Bokeland reported an account worth £15 5s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He reported a pardon of £1 16s 8d granted to the Abbey of Reading, and he paid £1 6s 8d into the treasury. This left him a debt to the crown of £12 2s.⁹²

Finally, Bertrand de Verdun, sheriff of Warwick and Leicester, reported owing a sum of £1 9s for assarts in Stanley, which he paid in full to the treasury.⁹³ In a second report, Bertrand de Verdun, rendered an account of £2 for assarts levied on men who held assarts in Stanley in 1173. He paid 13s 4d to the treasury. This left an outstanding debt of £1 6s 8d.⁹⁴

In total, during 1173 officials reported accounts for assarts and related offenses that totaled £29 14s 11d. The treasury received £5 9s, and officials reported pardons totaling £1

⁹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 59.

⁹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 64.

⁹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 65.

⁹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 179.

⁹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 181.

16s 8d. This left a total debt to the crown of £152 3s 3d.

1174

Like 1173, 1174 was marked by a large incidence of sheriffs reporting a debt to the crown, but doing nothing to rectify the situation. Alfred de Lincoln, still acting as sheriff of Somerset and Dorset, again reported a debt of 3s 2d.⁹⁵ Richard de Wilton, sheriff of Wiltshire, reported a debt of £124 15s 8d for assarts, waste, and other infractions of the forest, collected at least in part by Alan de Neville and others.⁹⁶ Constable Richard Humez, serving as sheriff of Rutland in 1174, reported a debt for that county of £2 6s 8d for fines assessed on assarts and waste by Simon FitzPeter.⁹⁷ Robert FitzSewin, sheriff in Northampton, reported a debt for fines collected by the feared Alan de Neville even large than that reported by his colleague Richard de Wilton. Robert FitzSewin reported a debt of £164 10s 7d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.⁹⁸ The sheriffs of Cambridge and Huntingdon, Ebrard de Beche and Warren de Bassingeburn, reported a debt of £9 18s for assarts and waste.⁹⁹

Robert Mantel, sheriff of Essex and Hertford, made two accounts for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in his county in 1174. The first was a debt of £2 15s 2d, and the

⁹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 18.

⁹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 35.

⁹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 55.

⁹⁸Pope Rolls, vol. 21, 54.

⁹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 64.

second was a debt of £48 5s 8d.¹⁰⁰ Alard Banastre, sheriff of Oxfordshire, reported a debt of 13s 4d for assarts, waste and pleas of the forest.¹⁰¹ The sheriff of Buckingham and Bedfordshire, William FitzRichard, reported a debt of £2,¹⁰² and the sheriff of Devonshire, Earl Reginald, reported owing £4 17s 4d.¹⁰³ As sheriff of Northumberland, Roger de Stuteville reported a debt of £75 7s 4d owed for fines for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest collected through Alan de Neville.¹⁰⁴ The sheriff of Shropshire, Guy Extraneus, reported a debt of £3 1s 4d for assarts and waste.¹⁰⁵ Hugh de Bokeland reported a debt through Alan de Neville and others for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest of £100 6s 1d.¹⁰⁶ William de Braiose, sheriff of Hereford in Wales reported a debt of £32 13s 4d for assarts and waste.¹⁰⁷ The sheriff of Hampshire, Hugh de Gundeville, accounted for two debts for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in 1174, both of which were associated with Alan de Neville and others. The first debt he reported to the Exchequer was £15, and the second was a staggering £206 17s 10d.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 70 and 71.

¹⁰¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 79.

¹⁰²Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 84.

¹⁰³Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 92.

¹⁰⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 107.

¹⁰⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 109.

¹⁰⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 115.

¹⁰⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 123.

¹⁰⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 129 and 130.

Of course, as in 1173, several sheriffs makings accounts in 1174 did contribute something toward paying off their debts. Bertrand de Verdun accounted for £1 9s as sheriff of Warwick and Leicester, and paid the full debt for assarts in Stanley to the crown.¹⁰⁹ In addition to the debt mentioned above, Richard de Wilton, sheriff of Wiltshire, reported an account of £4 6s 8d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, paying £2 into the treasury.¹¹⁰ Herve de Stratton, sheriff of Staffordshire, reported an account of £3 17s 2d collected for assarts and waste. He paid 13s 4d to the crown, leaving a debt of £3 3s 10d.¹¹¹ Robert de Inglesham of Berkshire reported owing £8 3s 5d for assarts. He paid £1 6s 8d to the Exchequer and remained in debt £6 16s 9d.¹¹² Hugh de Bokeland, sheriff of Berkshire, in addition to his above debt, reported an account of £12 2s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, and paid the Exchequer £1 6s 8d, leaving a debt of £10 15s 4d.¹¹³

For the year ending Michaelmas 1174, accounts of assarts and related offenses totaled £25 18s 3d. Officials paid the treasury £6 15s 8d and reported no pardons. With debts accumulating in matters concerning assarts and related activities, this left a total debt to the Exchequer of £815 14s 1d.

¹⁰⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 140.

¹¹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 32.

¹¹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 95.

¹¹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 113.

¹¹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 113.

1175

The year 1175 marked a return to what could be termed “business as usual” in the process of collecting money for land clearance violations. That year, Alard Banastre reported a debt of 13s 4d collected for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.¹¹⁴ Alfred de Lincoln, sheriff of Somerset and Dorset reported an account of 3s 2d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, which was pardoned by the crown on behalf of Osbert de Bichelea.¹¹⁵ The sheriff of Shropshire, Guy Extraneus, reported a debt of £3 1s 4d that he owed for assarts and waste.¹¹⁶

Hugo de Gundeville, sheriff of Northampton reported an account of £164 10s 7d to the Exchequer in 1175 for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid the crown £87 14s 6d, and reported that the crown had issued multiple pardons for fines connected with his account. The crown pardoned Robert de Peissi a fine of £8 4s 4d, Ranulph de Broch a fine of 12s, Hugo de Hamesclape a fine of £2 12s 6d, Robert FitzSewin a fine of £3, William Venatori a fine of £2, and Chamberlain William Malduit a fine of £3 15s. This left the sheriff a debt of £56 12s 3d. All the fines in this account were collected through the activities of Alan de Neville and his associates, Robert Mantel, William FitzRalph and others.¹¹⁷

William FitzRichard, sheriff of Buckingham and Bedford reported a debt of £2 for

¹¹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 13.

¹¹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 24.

¹¹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 38.

¹¹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 43.

assarts, waste and pleas of the forest.¹¹⁸ The sheriffs of Devonshire, Earl Reginald and Alan de Furnell (and a third, named as *Pagan' Capelts*), reported owing a debt of £4 17s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.¹¹⁹ Herve de Stratton, sheriff of Staffordshire, made an account of £3 3s 10 for assarts and waste in Stafford. He paid 10d, leaving him a debt of £3 3s.¹²⁰

Robert Mantel, sheriff of Essex and Hertford reported a debt of £1 15s 2d for assarts, waste, and other violations of the forest in the forest of Essex in 1175.¹²¹ He also reported another account of £48 5s 8d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest of Essex. On this account he paid the treasury £2 11s 1d, and reported pardons issued by the crown to the bishop of Winchester for a violation of 4s and to Richard de Lucy for a fine 7s 6d. This left him a debt of £42 15s.¹²²

William de Braiose, sheriff of Hereford in Wales reported a debt of £32 13s 4d for assarts and waste.¹²³ As sheriff of Warwick and Leicester, Bertrand de Verdun reported collecting fines for assarting of lands of Stanley totaling £1 9s, which he paid in full to the Exchequer.¹²⁴ Richard de Wilton, sheriff of Wiltshire, reported an account of £2 6s 8d for

¹¹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 51.

¹¹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 62.

¹²⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 67.

¹²¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 73.

¹²²Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 75.

¹²³Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 87.

¹²⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 90.

assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid the treasury 6s 8d and reported a royal pardon of £2 for infractions made by Richard, the bishop of Winchester, which cleared his account.¹²⁵ Ebrard de Beche and Warren de Bassingeburn, sheriffs of Cambridge and Huntingdon, reported a debt of £9 18s for assarts and waste.¹²⁶

Hugo de Bokeland, sheriff of Berkshire, made two reports in 1175. The first report he made accounted for monies collected for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest amounting to £10 15s 4d. He paid the treasury £1 10s, leaving a debt of £9 5s 4d.¹²⁷

The second account Hugo de Bokeland made was for fines totaling £100 6s 1d collected for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph. Hugo paid the Exchequer £60 15s 8d, and reported that several pardons had been issued for fines pertaining to his accounts. Earl William de Mandeville received two pardons, one for £1 14s and another for £3 5s. William of London received a pardon for £1 13s. The monastery of Fonte Ebrold were forgiven £1 12s, while the monks of Casa were pardoned 4s. William de Verdun and the monastery of Stratford each received a pardon of 13s 4d. The monks of Reading obtained a pardon of £13 1s 4d. Richard de Camville received a pardon of £2, William de Larval received a pardon of 17s 4d, and Richard de Lucy received a pardon of £4 14s 6d. This left Hugo with a debt to the crown of £9 1s 7d.¹²⁸

Robert de Stuteville, sheriff of Yorkshire, reported a debt of £1 13s 4d for assarts,

¹²⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 102.

¹²⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 140.

¹²⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 134.

¹²⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 135.

waste, and other infractions on the forest.¹²⁹ In Northumberland, Sheriff Roger de Stuteville reported fines totaling £75 7s 3d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest collected in the activities of Alan de Neville and his associates. He paid the Exchequer £67 7s 10d, leaving a debt to the crown of £7 19s 5d.¹³⁰

Like the sheriff of Berkshire, Hugo de Gundeville, sheriff of Hampshire, made two reports concerning assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in 1175. The first was comparatively small. He reported having assessed fines of £15, he paid 10s to the treasury, and remained in debt to the crown £14 10s.¹³¹

In the second case, Hugo de Gundeville reported fines of £206 17s 10d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest collected by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, William FitzRalph, and their associates. He paid the crown £64 6s, and reported that several men who owed for the fines had been pardoned by the crown. The crown pardoned Ade de Herleberga a sum of 13s 4d, Richard Foillet a sum of £2, William Malvoisin a sum of £1 6s 8d, Ranulph de Broch a sum of £1, Vicedno de Pinkingni a sum of 13s 4d, Robert Bertrand a sum of £2 6s 8d, Archbishop of Roth a sum of £1 6s 8d, Alard FitzWilliam a sum of £1 10s, Robert de Meisi a sum of £5, and the Abbey of Bec a sum of £13 6s 8d. This left an unpaid balance of £113 8s 6d.¹³²

In total, during 1175 officials reported accounts that totaled £628 5s 5d. The treasury

¹²⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 169.

¹³⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 185

¹³¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 191.

¹³²Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 193.

received a total of £286 11s 7d and the crown issued pardons totaling £82 9s 8d. This left a debt outstanding to the crown that totaled £325 10s 11d.

1176

1176 brought slightly fewer entries than the previous two years, but the pattern of payments made by sheriffs remained similar, revealing a variety of payments and non-payments. Robert Mantel, sheriff of Essex and Hertford, reported an account of £1 15s 2d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, of which he paid 2s 6d to the crown. He also reported a pardon granted to the steward (i.e. *dapiferi*), William FitzAldelini of 9s 8d, leaving Mantel a debt of £1 3s.¹³³ In a second account Robert Mantel reported collecting £42 15s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Essex. On this account he paid £7 1s 8d. The crown issued three letters of pardon relating to this account. The king pardoned an infraction of £6 13s 4d made by Earl Alberico, an infraction of £1 15s 11d made by the Knights Hospitaller, and an infraction of 3s made by William FitzAldelini, the steward named in the first account. A debt remained of £27 1s 1d. Robert then reported on the same account for the same debt of £27 1s 1d, this time paying 16s 9d, leaving the county in debt £26 4s 4d.¹³⁴

Sheriff of Oxfordshire, Robert Tureville, reported a debt of 13s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.¹³⁵ Ranulph Poer, sheriff of Hereford in Wales reported owing £32 13s

¹³³Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 3.

¹³⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 4.

¹³⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 29.

4d for assarts and waste.¹³⁶ Richard Humez of Rutland reported a debt of £2 6s 8d for assarts and waste collected by Simon FitzPeter.¹³⁷ Sheriff Guy Extraneus of Shropshire reported a debt of £2 1s 4d for assarts and waste.¹³⁸ Ranulf de Glanville, sheriff of Yorkshire, reported that he owed £1 13s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.¹³⁹ William Ruffus, sheriff of Devonshire, reported that he owed £4 17s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.¹⁴⁰ The sheriff of Staffordshire, Herve de Stratton, reported a debt of £3 3s for assarts and waste.¹⁴¹

Ebrard de Beche and Warren de Bassingeburn, sheriffs of Cambridge and Huntingdon, reported an account of £9 18s for assarts and waste in the forest of Huntingdon. They made a payment of £2 13s 4d, and cited two pardons to erase part of their debt. The crown granted pardons to Bishop Ely for £2 13s 4d and to Count William de Mandeville for £2 13s 4d. This left the county a debt of £1 18s.¹⁴²

In 1176, Ralph FitzBernard reported an account of £93 13s 4d for fines levied in Lancashire on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph. Ralph FitzBernard paid his debt to the treasury in full, and this report

¹³⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 42.

¹³⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 54.

¹³⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 56.

¹³⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 102.

¹⁴⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 143.

¹⁴¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 166.

¹⁴²Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 71.

was the only report concerning illegal land clearance made for Lancashire.¹⁴³

In Berkshire, Robert Inglesham reported an account of £5 10s 1d for assarts. He paid £1 6s 8d, leaving a debt to the crown of £4 3s 5d.¹⁴⁴ Also in Berkshire, Sheriff Hugo de Bokeland reported fines totaling £9 5s 4d. The sheriff paid the treasury 6s 8d and reported a pardon of 6s 8d granted to Reginald de Curtenai, leaving the county in debt £8 12s.¹⁴⁵ Reporting on the same account and same debt, Hugo de Bokeland paid another 13s 4d to the treasury, further reducing the debt to £7 18s 8d.¹⁴⁶

In Northumberland Sheriff Roger de Stuteville reported an account of £7 19s 5d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest attributed to Alan de Neville and his men. He paid the treasury £2 14s 4d, leaving a debt of £5 5s 1d.¹⁴⁷ Bertrand de Verdun, sheriff of Warwick and Leicester reported fines totaling £1 9s for assarts, and paid his account in full.¹⁴⁸

The sheriff of Hampshire, Hugo de Gundeville, reported two accounts to the Exchequer concerning assarts in 1176. First, he reported a debt of 14s 10d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.¹⁴⁹ The second report was an account of £1 13s 8d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed in association with Alan de Neville and his associates. Hugo

¹⁴³Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 89.

¹⁴⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 131.

¹⁴⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 132.

¹⁴⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 132.

¹⁴⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 138.

¹⁴⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 179.

¹⁴⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 190.

paid £22 8s 4d to the crown and reported two pardons issued by the crown, one for £9 7s 2d to the king's men of Andover, and one for £5 to William Bastard. This left Hugo a debt of £76 8s.¹⁵⁰

In summary for 1176, officials reported a total of £321 6s 11d. They paid the Exchequer a total of £133 5s 11d and reported a total of £34 2s 5d in royal pardons. This left a debt to the crown of £216 12s 9d.

1177

The Pipe Roll for 1177 reveals somewhat more activity in the assessment and collection of fines than occurred in 1176. William Ruffus, sheriff of Devonshire reported several accounts in 1177. The first was an account of £4 17s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid £1 6s 8d, and according to the pipe roll this left him a debt of 71s or £3 11s, an amount that does not reflect an accurate balance. On the same debt for the same account of £3 11s he then reported a pardon granted to Reginald de Curtenai of £2 17s 8d, leaving a mathematically correct new balance of 13s 4d.¹⁵¹ Next, William Ruffus reported an account for assarts, waste, and other forest offenses assessed through Thomas FitzBernard of £5 16s 2d. William paid £1 4s, leaving a balance of £4 12s 2d.¹⁵²

In Oxfordshire the sheriff, Robert de Tureville, reported an account of 13s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. The entire sum was cleared by a royal pardon granted

¹⁵⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 191.

¹⁵¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 3.

¹⁵²Pipe Rolls, vol, 26, 8.

to the Knights Templar.¹⁵³ The sheriff of Somerset and Dorset, Robert de Beauchamp reported two accounts for assarts, waste, pleas of the forest, and other infractions on the forest. The first account was for a sum of £5 3s 8d, of which he paid £3 16 6d and reported a pardon extended to Osbert Bichelea of £1 6s. This gave the account an outstanding balance of 6s 8d.¹⁵⁴ On his second account the total was £3 15s, of which he paid £3 12s, leaving a debt of 3s.¹⁵⁵ Bertrand de Verdun, sheriff of Warwick and Leicester reported an account of £1 9s for assarts, which he paid in full.¹⁵⁶ In Shropshire, Sheriff Guy Extraneus reported only a debt of £3 1s 4d for assarts and waste.¹⁵⁷ In Hereford in Wales, the sheriff, Poer, reported a debt of £32 13s 4d for assarts and waste.¹⁵⁸

Robert Inglesham reported an account of £4 3s 5d for assarts in Berkshire. He paid £1 6s 8d, leaving a debt to the crown of £3 6s 9d.¹⁵⁹ At the same time, the sheriff of Berkshire made two reports concerning assarts, waste, pleas of the forest, and other forest infractions. Hugo de St. Germanus first account totaled £7 18s 8d. He paid the treasury 12s and reported a pardon granted to the Knights Templar of 6s 8d, leaving him a debt of £7.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵³Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 12.

¹⁵⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 20.

¹⁵⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 21.

¹⁵⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 26.

¹⁵⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 37.

¹⁵⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 53.

¹⁵⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 47.

¹⁶⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 47.

Hugo de St. Germanus' second account was for £52 15s 8d assessed or collected by Thomas FitzBernard, and it involved several pardons. He reported that the crown had granted the abbot of Reading a pardon of £7 19s. William of London received a pardon of 18s, and the prioress of Etton received a pardon of £2 8s 4d. Gerard de Camville was pardoned 8s, and Reginald de Curtenai was pardoned 6s. Count William de Mandeville received one pardon of £1 5s and a second pardon of £2 7s 6d. The Knights Templar received a pardon of £1 13s, and Richard de Lucy was pardoned in one instance £5 9s 6d, and £2 10s in a second. Hugo himself paid the crown £22 12s 10d. In the end, he remained in debt £4 18s 6d.¹⁶¹

Ranulf de Glanville, sheriff of Yorkshire, reported two accounts for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in 1177. The first was merely a debt of £1 13s 4d.¹⁶² The second was for £1 15s 4d collected in association with Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph. Ranulph paid the treasury 7s, leaving 28s 4d outstanding.¹⁶³

Roger de Stuteville, sheriff of Northumberland, reported an account of £5 5s 1d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Alan de Neville and his associates. Roger paid the crown £2 13s 5d, leaving a debt of £2 11s 8d.¹⁶⁴ Hugo de Gundeville, sheriff of Northampton, reported owing £18 9s 1d for fines on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest collected in association with Alan de Neville. He paid the treasury £8 14s 1d, leaving

¹⁶¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 48.

¹⁶²Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 70.

¹⁶³Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 70.

¹⁶⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 82.

himself a debt of £9 15s.¹⁶⁵

Richard de Wilton, sheriff of Wiltshire, reported a debt of £12 10s 10d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed through Alan de Neville.¹⁶⁶ Richard Humez reported owing £2 6s 8d for assarts and waste in Rutland assessed through Simon FitzPeter.¹⁶⁷ Herve de Stratton, sheriff of Staffordshire, reported owing £3 3s for assarts and waste.¹⁶⁸

Robert Mantel made two reports as sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire to the Exchequer at Michaelmas 1177. First, he reported a debt of £1 3s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.¹⁶⁹ Next, Robert Mantel rendered an account for fines levied on assarts, waste, pleas of the forest, and related offenses that totaled £108 10s 6d. He paid the treasury £60 14s 4d and reported several pardons granted by the crown to those who had been fined. Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, received a pardon of £3 8s 2d. William Mandeville received a pardon of £17 11s. Eve, countess of Striguil, and Eude FitzErnisi each received a pardon of £3. The crown granted pardons of £1 4s to Henry de Kemeseka, £ 1 14s to Robert Ruilli, £2 7s 6d to William Larval, and £1 4s to the Church of the Holy Cross of Waltham. William de Blythe received a pardon of 7s 6d, and Chamberlain Ailward received a pardon of 16s. Robert de Curtenai received a pardon of 15s. The king issued pardons to John, a monk of Bedmannesberg for 18s, to Robert de Rochella for 10s, and to Richard FitzAlcher for 22s.

¹⁶⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 90.

¹⁶⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 99.

¹⁶⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 103.

¹⁶⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 140.

¹⁶⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 146.

Roger FitzRenfrid received a pardon of 6d, Richard de Lucy received a pardon of 5s 6d, and John FitzJohn received a pardon of 9s. Including his own pardon of 8s 6d, Robert Mantel's final outstanding debt for his counties was £8 15s 6d.¹⁷⁰

In Buckingham and Bedfordshire, Sheriff William FitzRichard made two reports concerning illegal land clearance in 1177. The first was for £1 collected for assarts and waste, which he paid in full to the treasury.¹⁷¹ In the second case, he reported an account of £15 3s 6d, of which he paid £8 6s, and reported a pardon extended to the Knights Templar of £4 10s. This left him a debt of £2 7s 6d.¹⁷²

Hugo de Gundeville, sheriff of Southampton, also made two reports to the Exchequer concerning assarting and illegal land clearance. In his first account, he reported assessing fines totaling £14 10s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid the crown £1, leaving a debt of £13 10s.¹⁷³ In his second account he reported fines totaling £88 8s 4d. Hugo reported that the abbot and monks of Waverley had received a pardon for fines worth £19 17s, and that likewise Ade de Herleberga had received a pardon for a fine of 15s. Hugo himself contributed £47 4s to the debt, leaving a balance owed to the crown of £20 12s 4d.¹⁷⁴

In 1177 Ebrard de Beche and Warren de Bassingeburn, sheriffs of Cambridge and Huntingdon, also made two reports concerning illegal land clearance. In the first instance

¹⁷⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

¹⁷¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 158.

¹⁷²Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 162.

¹⁷³Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 168.

¹⁷⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 171.

they reported a debt of £1 18s for assarts and waste.¹⁷⁵ In the second instance, the sheriffs reported an account of £10 13s 8d for assarts, waste, and other infractions on the forest of Huntingdonshire. They paid the treasury £8 17s 5d, and reported pardons granted by the crown to Bishop Geoffrey Ely for £1 5s 6d and to the Knights Templar for 4s. This left the two men a debt of 6s 9d.¹⁷⁶

In 1177, the county of Surrey first shows up in the records concerning illegal land clearance, when the sheriff of Surrey, Gervase de Cornhill reported an account of £55 5s 5d for fines on assarts, waste, and other forest infractions levied in association with Thomas FitzBernard. Gervase reported multiple pardons associated with the offenses. The monks of Haliwell received a pardon of £3 15s. Ralph de Dene was pardoned £1 10s, and Reese de Micheleham was pardoned £2. The canony of Merton received a pardon of £14 6s 2d, and the monks of Waverley received a pardon of £4 2s 4d. Gervase himself paid the Exchequer £16 6s. All this left him an outstanding balance of £13 5s 11d.¹⁷⁷

For the Exchequer year ending at the Michaelmas session of 1177, royal officials reported a total of £409 4s 2d. The treasury collected £191 1s 11d. The crown issued pardons that totaled £121 8s 2d. This left the total outstanding balance at £155 13s 11d.

1178

In 1178 in Devonshire, Sheriff Hugo de Gundeville reported a debt of 13s 4d for

¹⁷⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 180.

¹⁷⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 182.

¹⁷⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 196.

assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.¹⁷⁸ He then rendered a second account of £4 12s 2d. In this account he contributed 6s 6d to the treasury and reported a pardon of £2 17s 8d extended to Reginald de Curtenai for assarts, waste and other infractions of the forest assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. This left him a debt of £1 8s.¹⁷⁹

Richard de Wilton, sheriff of Wiltshire, reported an account of £12 10s 10d, and paid the treasury 6s 8d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. This left him a debt of £12 4s 2d.¹⁸⁰ Richard de Wilton then rendered a second account for a debt of £2 16s for assarts, waste, and other offenses in the forest.¹⁸¹

Robert Mantel, the sheriff of Essex and Hertford, made four reports concerning assarts, waste, and other infractions of the forest. The first two were debts of £1 3s and £5 13s.¹⁸² The third was an account of £8 15s 6d for infractions in the forest of Essex, of which he paid £2 3s 4d, leaving a debt of £6 12s 2d.¹⁸³ Finally, reporting a second time on the third account, he reported an account of £6 12s 2d, of which he reported a pardon of £1 17s extended to the Knights Hospitaller. This left him a debt to the Exchequer of £4 15s 2d.¹⁸⁴

Robert de Beauchamp, sheriff of Dorset and Somerset made a report of a debt of 6s

¹⁷⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 11.

¹⁷⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 14.

¹⁸⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 29.

¹⁸¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 30.

¹⁸²Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 34.

¹⁸³Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 35.

¹⁸⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 35.

8d for assarts and purprestures in the forest of Dorset.¹⁸⁵ In a second report concerning assarts and purprestures in the forest of Somerset, Robert de Beauchamp reported an account of 3s, which he paid in full.¹⁸⁶

Michel Belet, sheriff of Worcester, reported an account of £47 13s 4d. He paid the Exchequer £19 16s 6d, leaving a debt of £27 16s 10 for fines assessed by Thomas FitzBernard for assarts and waste.¹⁸⁷

Thomas FitzBernard, sheriff of Northamptonshire reported two accounts for 1178. For assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Alan de Neville and his associates, he reported an account £9 15s. He paid the treasury £1, leaving him in debt to the crown £8 15s.¹⁸⁸

Next, for assarts and waste Thomas FitzBernard reported an account of £143 14s 10d. He paid £98 and reported several pardons concerning this account extended by the crown. Roland de Dinan received a pardon for £10. Roger de Calz was pardoned for fines of £6 10s. The monks of Pipewell received a pardon of £8 1s. Wakelin FitzBaldwin received a pardon of £6 10s. Nicholas the King's Chaplain received one pardon of 4s and a second of 3s. Robert de Peissi and Gilbert de Wascuil were jointly pardoned £17 10s. The Knights Templar received a pardon of 3s 4d, and Richard de Humez received a pardon of £12 6s 8d. This left a debt of £87 6s 10d to the treasury. Robert FitzBernard then reported on the same

¹⁸⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 41.

¹⁸⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 41.

¹⁸⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 45.

¹⁸⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 49.

account for the same debt of £87 6s 10s, for which he reported a pardon of £3 16s extended to Robert de Curtenai, reducing the debt to £83 10s 10d. Making yet another report on the same account he paid an additional £2, leaving a final debt to the Exchequer of £81 10s 10d.¹⁸⁹

William FitzStephen, sheriff of Gloucester reported an account of £27 11s 2d collected in conjunction with Thomas FitzBernard for assarts and waste. William paid £8 3s 10 to the treasury. He reported one pardon granted to the monks of St. James of Bristol of £4 10s and another granted to Chamberlain Ralph FitzStephen of £2. This left a debt to the Exchequer of £12 17s 4d.¹⁹⁰

Sheriff of Northumberland Roger de Stuteville reported a debt of 51s for fines on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Alan de Neville.¹⁹¹ Richard de Humez, sheriff of Rutland, reported a debt of 46s 8d for fines on assarts and waste assessed by Simon FitzPeter.¹⁹²

Ranulf de Glanville reported on three accounts as sheriff of Yorkshire in 1178. His first report concerned a simple debt of £1 13s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.¹⁹³ Next he reported an account assessed by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph totaling £1 8s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid 4s toward this

¹⁸⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 54.

¹⁹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 59.

¹⁹¹Pipe Rolls, vol, 27, 60.

¹⁹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 63.

¹⁹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 65.

account, leaving him a debt to the crown of £1 4s 4d.¹⁹⁴ Finally, he reported an account of £87 18s 8d for assarts and waste in the forest of Yorkshire. He paid the Exchequer £85 4s 2d and reported two pardons which cleared his account: one for £2 10s extended to Alan, a canon of Yorkshire, and another extended to the monks of Kirkstall of 3s 6d.¹⁹⁵

Bertrand de Verdun, sheriff of Warwick and Leicestershire, reported on two accounts. The first, for assarts in Stanley, was for 19s, which he paid in full.¹⁹⁶ The second account totaled £11 11s 6d for fines on assarts and waste levied by Thomas FitzBernard. Bertrand paid the crown £9 5s 6d, leaving a debt of £2 6s.¹⁹⁷

Sheriff of Shropshire, Guy Extraneus, rendered two accounts in 1178 also. The first was a simple debt of £3 1s 4d for assarts and waste.¹⁹⁸ The next was an account of fines for assarts and waste totaling £27 11s 7d, of which he paid £26 8s 2d to the treasury. He reported a pardon extended to the Knights Templar of 13s, and a pardon of 10s 6s extended to Almaric de Lacy. Between his own payments and the pardons, his second account was clear.¹⁹⁹

The sheriff of Nottingham and Derbyshire, William FitzRalph, reported an account for assarts and waste of £58 2s 4d. He paid the crown £52 11s 2d, and reported that pardons

¹⁹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 66.

¹⁹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 70.

¹⁹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 77.

¹⁹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 82.

¹⁹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 84.

¹⁹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 85.

had been extended to Robert FitzHugo for £1 and to the monks of Rufford for £1 6s 8d. He left with a debt of £3 14 6d.²⁰⁰

William FitzRichard, as sheriff of Buckingham and Bedfordshire reported an account of £7 7s 6d to the Exchequer for assarts, waste, and other infractions in the forest of Bedfordshire. The Knights Templar were extended a pardon of 7s, leaving this account in debt to the treasury £2 6d.²⁰¹ In a second account for 1178, William FitzRichard report assessing a sum of £27 4s 6d for assarts and waste in the forest of Buckinghamshire. On this account he paid £20 18s 6d, leaving a debt of £6 6s. He carried this sum over to another account, on which he reported a pardon extended to Reginald de Curtenai of 13s 4d. This left FitzRichard with a final debt to the crown of £5 12s 8d.²⁰²

Herve de Stratton reported a debt of £3 3s for assarts and waste as sheriff of Staffordshire in 1178.²⁰³ In a second account he reported assessing fines totaling £33 13s 4d for assarts and waste in Staffordshire. Herve de Stratton paid £25 15s to the Exchequer, leaving a debt of £7 18s 4d.²⁰⁴

Sheriff Ranulph Poer began his report by citing a debt of £32 13s 4d for assarts and waste in Hereford in Wales for 1178.²⁰⁵ In a second account, he reported assessing fines for

²⁰⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 87.

²⁰¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 96.

²⁰²Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 96.

²⁰³Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 98.

²⁰⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 99.

²⁰⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 101.

assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest totaling £28 9s 8d. He paid the treasury £4 9s 8d. The Knights Hospitaller received a pardon for fines of £6, and William Hatewi was pardoned of fines totaling £3. This left Ranulph Poer a debt to the crown of £15.²⁰⁶

In Berkshire, a private individual, Robert de Inglesham, reported owing £2 16s 9d for assarts in Wicham. He paid £1 6s 8d, leaving a debt of £1 10s 1d.²⁰⁷ The actual sheriff of Berkshire, Hugo de St. Germanus, made several reports for assarts, waste, pleas of the forest and other forest related offenses. He reported several instance of debt concerning these offenses. He owed debts of £7, £4 18s 6d, and 13s 4d on three of his accounts, one of which was associated with Alan de Neville.²⁰⁸ In a fourth, Hugo de St. Germanus reported an account collected in association with Thomas FitzBernard of £11 3s 4d, of which he paid £7 10s 8d, leaving a debt on this account of £7 12s 8d.²⁰⁹

Hugo de Gundeville, sheriff of Southamptonshire, reported two accounts concerning forest infractions in 1178. The first was for fines on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest totaling £65 16d. On this account he paid £1 9s, and reported a pardon extended to the bishop of Winton of £46 3s 4d, leaving a debt of £17 9s.²¹⁰ The next account was on assarts, waste, and other infractions, the sum of which was £20 12s 4d. He paid the crown £3 14s 6d, and reported another pardon for the bishop of Winton of £5. This left him a debt of £11 17s

²⁰⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 102.

²⁰⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 103.

²⁰⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 103.

²⁰⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 104.

²¹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 108.

10d.²¹¹

Walter FitzHugo, sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire reported an account of 6s 9d on assarts, waste, and other forest offenses. He paid 3s and cited a pardon of 2s extended to the Knights Hospitaller. This left him a debt of 1s 9d.²¹²

Sheriff of Oxfordshire Robert de Tureville reported an account of £38 8s for assarts and waste in 1178, of which he paid the treasury £21 3s 4d. He reported that the crown had pardoned the Knights Templar for infractions of £4 and £1 and William de Caisneto and Ranulph de Verdun for an infraction of £1 10s. This left Robert de Tureville a debt of £10 14s 1d.²¹³

Robert de Vallibus, sheriff of Cumberland, rendered an account of £12 4s 8d for assarts and waste in 1178. He paid this account in full.²¹⁴

Gervase de Cornhill, sheriff of Surrey, rendered two accounts in 1178. In the first, Gervase reported an account of fines of £13 5s 11d for assarts, waste, and other offenses of the forest. He paid £4, and reported a pardon of 10s for Bishop Richard of Winton. This left him with a debt on the first account of £8 15s 11d.²¹⁵ In the second account Gervase of Cornhill reported assessing fines of £19 2s 8d for assarts and waste, of which he paid £8 to the treasury. The crown pardoned Engelram, steward of Pontiuo, a fine of £2 13s 4d,

²¹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 109.

²¹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 115.

²¹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 120.

²¹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 127.

²¹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 134.

William de Malvoisin an infraction of £1 6s 8d, Maurice de Creon a fine of 13s 4d, and the church of Bello fines of 6s 8d. This left Gervase a debt of £6 2s 8d.²¹⁶

When the Exchequer concluded its business in 1178, sheriffs and others had reported accounts for fines levied on assarts and related offenses that totaled £900 18s 10d. They paid the treasury £417 6s 10d and reported pardons that totaled £152 18s. This left an outstanding balance on these accounts of £499 6s 9d.

1179

In 1179, Hugo de Gundeville served as sheriff of Devonshire, where he made two reports concerning illegal land clearance and forest offenses. In the first account, he reported a debt of 13s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest associated with Alan de Neville.²¹⁷ The second account covered fines totaling £1 8s assessed by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts, waste, and other forest offenses. Hugo paid 7s 6d, leaving a debt of £1 10d.²¹⁸

In Yorkshire, Ranulf de Glanville reported two debts for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in 1179. The first debt totaled £1 13s 4d.²¹⁹ The second debt, for fines collected by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph, amounted to £1 4s 4d.²²⁰ Roger de Stuteville, sheriff of Northumberland, reported a debt of £2 11s, also attributed to Alan de

²¹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 134.

²¹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 11.

²¹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 14.

²¹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 17.

²²⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 18.

Neville and his men.²²¹ Walter FitzHugh reported a debt of 1s 9d for assarts and other forest offenses as sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire.²²² Roger de Reinfrid, sheriff of Sussex reported a rather large debt of £8 11s 8d outstanding for fines levied by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in his jurisdiction.²²³ Guy Extraneus, sheriff of Shropshire, reported a debt of £3 1s 4d for assarts and waste.²²⁴

Ranulph Poer made two reports in 1179 as sheriff of Hereford in Wales. The first report cited a debt of £32 13s 4d on assarts and waste.²²⁵ The second account was for fines totaling £15 for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. Ranulph paid £1, and reported a pardon extended by the crown to the Knights Templar of £14, which left the account clear.²²⁶

In Essex and Hertford, Sheriff Robert Mantel reported on three accounts in 1179. The first two were debts of £1 3s and £5 13s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forests.²²⁷ The third account was for fines on assarts, pleas of the forest, and purprestures in the forest of Essex totaling £4 15s 2d. He paid 9s of what he owed the Exchequer, leaving him in debt £4 6s 2d.²²⁸

²²¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 27.

²²²Pipe Rolls, vol., 28, 32.

²²³Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 37.

²²⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 42.

²²⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 40.

²²⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 41.

²²⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 53.

²²⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 54.

Sheriff of Wiltshire Richard de Wilton reported one debt of £12 4s 2d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in 1179. He reported a second debt of £3 1s for assarts and other forest offenses in the forest of Wiltshire.²²⁹

Thomas FitzBernard, sheriff of Northamptonshire, made three reports concerning illegal land clearance in 1179. The sum of the first account was £8 15s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Wiltshire, of which he paid £1, leaving a debt of £7 15s.²³⁰ The second account totaled £81 10s 10d. He paid the treasury £5 15s, leaving a debt of £75 15s 9d.²³¹ The third report was for the same debt of £75 15s 9d on the second account. FitzBernard reported a pardon extended to the monks of Bec for 2s, leaving him a debt of £75 13s 9d.²³²

Robert de Beauchamp, sheriff of Dorset and Somerset reported an account of 6s 8d for assarts and other forest offenses, all of which was cleared by a royal pardon to the monks of Bec.²³³ Richard de Humez, sheriff of Rutland, reported a debt of £2 6s 8d for assarts and waste levied by Simon FitzPeter.²³⁴ William FitzRichard, sheriff in Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, reported a debt of £5 12s 8d for assarts and waste.²³⁵

²²⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 58.

²³⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 62.

²³¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 64.

²³²Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 64.

²³³Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 68.

²³⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 71.

²³⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 76.

William FitzRalph rendered an account of £3 14s 6d for assarts and waste collected by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid £3 6s 4d, leaving a debt of 8s 2d.²³⁶

In Berkshire, Robert de Inglesham reported a private account of £1 10s 1d for assarts in Wicham. He paid £1 6s 8d, leaving a debt to the treasury of 3s 5d.²³⁷

The sheriff of Berkshire, Hugo de St. Germanus reported on four accounts in 1179. The first two were debts of £7 and 13s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, the second collected through Alan de Neville.²³⁸ The next account was for a sum of £4 18s 6d assessed by Thomas FitzBernard for assarts and other forest offenses. Hugo paid 13s 6d, leaving a debt of £4 5s.²³⁹ The final account, also levied by Thomas FitzBernard, was for assarts and waste totaling £3 12s 8d, of which he paid 6s 8d. This left him in debt to the crown on this debt £3 6s.²⁴⁰

William FitzStephen, sheriff of Gloucester, rendered an account of £12 17s 4d for assarts and waste levied by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid £2, leaving a debt of £10 17s 4d.²⁴¹ Then, reporting on the same account and the same debt of £10 17s 4d, William FitzStephen reported a pardon issued to Robert Muschet of £5. This reduced the debt to £5 17s 4d.²⁴²

²³⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 82.

²³⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 85.

²³⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 86.

²³⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 86.

²⁴⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 86.

²⁴¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 91.

²⁴²Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 91.

Michael Belet, sheriff of Worcester, rendered an account of £27 16s 10d for assarts and waste that had been assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid 10s, leaving a debt to the treasury of £27 6s 10d.²⁴³ Sheriff Robert de Tureville of Oxford reported an account of £10 14s 1d, paid the crown £1 4s, leaving a debt of £9 10s 1d.²⁴⁴ Then reporting on the same account and same debt, he submitted a royal pardon extended to the earl of Gloucester of £2, further reducing the debt to £7 10s 1d.²⁴⁵ Herve de Stratton, sheriff of Staffordshire, reported a debt of £3 4s for assarts and waste.²⁴⁶

Hugo de Gundeville, sheriff of Southamptonshire, reported on three accounts in his jurisdiction in 1179. In the first account he reported assessing £11 15s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid 13s 8d, leaving himself a debt of £11 1s 8d.²⁴⁷ The second account totaled £17 9s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest collected in association with Alan de Neville. Hugo de Gundeville paid £1 11s and reported a pardon extended to the monks of Bec for £1 10s. This left a debt to the crown of £14 8s.²⁴⁸

In the report on his third account, Hugo de Gundeville stated that he had assessed £11 17s 10d for assarts and other forest offenses, of which he paid £1 4s. He cited pardon granted on this account to the Knights Hospitallers for 15s, the archbishop and canons of Roth for

²⁴³Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 94.

²⁴⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 97.

²⁴⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 97.

²⁴⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 98.

²⁴⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 103.

²⁴⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 103.

12s, and the canonry of Merton for 7s. This left a debt of £8 19s 10d.²⁴⁹

Sheriff Bertrand de Verdun of Warwick and Leicestershire reported an account of £1 9s for assarts in Stanley, which he paid in full.²⁵⁰ Gervase de Cornhill, sheriff of Surrey, reported assessing £8 15s 11d for assarts and other forest offenses in his jurisdiction levied through Thomas FitzBernard. He paid nothing, but cited a pardon of 6s extended to the bishop of Exeter, leaving himself a debt to the crown of £8 9s 11d.²⁵¹ In Surrey, Sheriff Gervase de Cornhill rendered an account of fines levied on assarts and waste in 1179 that totaled £6 2s 8d. He reported a pardon of £3 15s extended to Bishop Deodatus and others. This left a debt to the crown of £2 7s 8d.²⁵²

The year ending Michaelmas 1179 saw officials report accounts for fines levied on assarts and related offenses that totaled £321 1s 6d. They paid the treasury £22 16s 4d, while reporting pardons that totaled £26 13s 8d. They left an outstanding balance of £363 8d.

Officials recorded twenty-eight incidents involving assarts or pardons for assarts during 1170, and the number incidents reported annually remains at roughly the same level until 1178, when another increase occurred. The 1170 increase in the number of entries is most likely related to the effects of the Assize of Clarendon (1166), the Inquest of Sheriffs (1170), and the increasing use of the assizes of *novel disseisin* and *mort d'ancestor*. The increase in 1178 could be related to a resurgence in royal activity and punishment leveled at

²⁴⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 104.

²⁵⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 110.

²⁵¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 123.

²⁵²Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 123.

the king's enemies after the rebellion led by the king's sons in 1173. However, the increase in royal activity in the countryside alone during this period could easily explain the jump in the number of reported assarts by sheriffs, who at the same time grew more and more loyal to the king.

THE 1180s

Throughout the 1180s, royal activity concerning illegal land clearance continued to grow. The number of pardons issued in the 1180s dropped sharply, yet the number of reports per year grew until the last year of Henry's life when it dropped dramatically. The Pipe Rolls contain 361 entries concerning assarts and related activity during the decade of the 1170s, many of which represent duplicate citations for pardons, while one finds 408 entries during the years between 1180 and 1188, when pardons occurred far less frequently. The royal officials had surely settled comfortably into their roles, and the activity of royal foresters remained a strong and growing influence.

1180

In 1180, Sheriff of Essex and Hertford Robert Mantel reported on four accounts. The first account was a debt of £1 3s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. The second account, also for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, totaled £5 13s. Mantel paid the crown 1s 6d, leaving a debt of £5 11s 6d. On his third account, Robert Mantel reported £4 6s 2d assessed on assarts and other forest offenses. He paid 7s 8d, reported a pardon granted to the canonry of Waltham for 2s 6d, leaving a debt of £3 16s.²⁵³ In the fourth account for assarts and other forest offenses in the forest of Essex assessed in conjunction with Thomas FitzBernard, Mantel reported a debt of £80 19s 2d.²⁵⁴

Hugo Pantulf, sheriff of Shropshire reported one debt of £3 1s 4d for assarts and

²⁵³Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 3.

²⁵⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 7.

waste,²⁵⁵ and a second debt for £58 4s 6d for assarts and other forest offenses collected by Thomas FitzBernard.²⁵⁶ Herve de Stratton, sheriff of Staffordshire reported a debt of £3 3s for assarts and waste,²⁵⁷ and a second debt for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest of £29 9s 8d assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.²⁵⁸ Alan de Furnell, sheriff of Cornwall, reported a debt of £30 14s 4d for assarts and related offenses levied through Thomas FitzBernard.²⁵⁹

Geoffrey Hose, sheriff of Oxford, reported an account for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest totaling £7 10s 1d. He paid 4s 1d, leaving himself £7 6s.²⁶⁰ In a second account, assessed on assarts and other forest offenses by Thomas FitzBernard, he reported a debt of £35 3s 4d.²⁶¹

Roger FitzRenfrid, sheriff of Sussex in 1180, reported a debt of £8 11s 8d on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest collected by Thomas FitzBernard.²⁶² Walter FitzHugo, sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdon, reported a debt of 1s 9s for assarts and other forest offenses,²⁶³ and another debt on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Thomas

²⁵⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 9.

²⁵⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 11.

²⁵⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 12.

²⁵⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 14.

²⁵⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 97.

²⁶⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 27.

²⁶¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 29.

²⁶²Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 31.

²⁶³Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 34.

FitzBernard of £24 3s 4d.²⁶⁴ Robert de Inglesham reported an account for assarts and other forest offenses in Wicham in Berkshire of 3s 5d, which he paid in full.²⁶⁵

Hugo de St. Germanus, sheriff of Berkshire, rendered reports on five accounts concerning land clearance and forest offenses in 1180. The first account was a debt of £7 for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. The second was for 13s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest collected in association with Alan de Neville, which was paid in full. Next was an account assessed by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts and other forest offenses totaling £4 5s. Hugo de St. Germanus paid 2s, leaving a debt of £4 3s. Fourth was an account with a sum of £3 6s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed in association with Thomas FitzBernard. 10s was paid to the treasury with the aid of Roger FitzRenfrid, leaving a debt of £2 16s.²⁶⁶ Hugo de St. Germanus' last account was a debt of £27 5s 10d assessed on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Thomas FitzBernard.²⁶⁷

Gervase de Cornhill, sheriff of Surrey, reported on three accounts in 1180, all of which were assessed in conjunction with Thomas FitzBernard. He reported an account of £8 9s 11d on assarts and other forest offenses, of which he paid £4 2s 5d to the treasury, leaving him in debt to the crown £4 7s 6d.²⁶⁸ He reported an account of £2 7s 8d assessed on assarts

²⁶⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 38.

²⁶⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 39.

²⁶⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 39.

²⁶⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 41.

²⁶⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 44.

and waste. He paid £1 6s 8d into the treasury, leaving a debt of £1 1s.²⁶⁹ The third account was a debt of £38 7s8d for assarts and other forest offenses.²⁷⁰

Sheriffs of Cumberland Robert de Vallibus and Roger de Leicester reported a debt of £33 15s 8d assessed by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts, waste, and pleas of forest.²⁷¹ Michael Belet, sheriff of Worcestershire, reported debts of £27 6s 10d on assarts and waste levied by Thomas FitzBernard,²⁷² and £40 11s 4d on assarts and other forest offenses.²⁷³ As sheriff of Northamptonshire, Thomas FitzBernard reported one debt of £7 15s for assarts, waste and pleas of the forest collected in association with Alan de Neville,²⁷⁴ and a second debt assessed by himself on assarts and other forest offenses in the forests of Northumberland of £96 6d.²⁷⁵

William Malduit, chamberlain and sheriff of Rutland in 1180, made two reports concerning assarts and illegal land clearance. The first account he rendered totaled £2 6s 8d for assarts and waste assessed by Simon FitzPeter, which he paid in full. The second was a debt of £14 3s 10d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.²⁷⁶

²⁶⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 45.

²⁷⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 46.

²⁷¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 61.

²⁷²Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 78.

²⁷³Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 80.

²⁷⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 83.

²⁷⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 87.

²⁷⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 88.

William Briwere, sheriff of Devonshire, reported three accounts in debt in 1180. The first account was a debt of 13s 4d on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Alan de Neville.²⁷⁷ The second debt totaled £1 10s for assarts and other forest offenses levied by Thomas FitzBernard.²⁷⁸ Finally, he owed a debt of £14 5s 8d for assarts and other forest offenses, again assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.²⁷⁹

Bertrand de Verdun, Arnold de Barton, and Adam de Audley, joint sheriffs of Warwick and Leicestershire, rendered an account of £1 16s on assarts and waste levied by Thomas FitzBernard. They paid 12s, leaving a debt of £1 4s.²⁸⁰

William FitzStephen, sheriff of Gloucester, reported one account of £5 17s 4d for assarts and waste levied by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid 10s, leaving a debt of £5 7s 4d.²⁸¹ He reported a debt on a second account of £18 13s 10d assessed by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts and other forest offenses.²⁸²

In Hereford in Wales, Sheriff Ranulph Poer reported one debt of £32 13s 4d for assarts and waste,²⁸³ and a second debt of £11 4s 4d for assarts, waste, and purprestures in the

²⁷⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 90.

²⁷⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 92.

²⁷⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 95.

²⁸⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 100.

²⁸¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 114.

²⁸²Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 115.

²⁸³Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 116.

forest of Herefordshire, assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.²⁸⁴ Sheriff of Wiltshire Robert Malduit reported three debts related to assarts and illegal land clearance in 1180. The first debt, levied in association with Alan de Neville on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, totaled £12 4s 2d.²⁸⁵ The second and third debts he reported, both for assarts and other forest offenses, totaled £3 1s²⁸⁶ and £38 15s 6d.²⁸⁷

Sheriff of Buckingham and Bedfordshire, William Ruffus reported on four accounts relating to assarts and illegal forest activities in 1180. The first account was a debt of 6d for assarts and other forest offenses.²⁸⁸ In the second account, he reported assessing £5 12s 8d for assarts and waste in conjunction with Thomas FitzBernard. He paid the treasury 6s 8d, leaving a debt of £5 6s.²⁸⁹ On a third account William reported a debt of £25 13s 4d on fines assessed by Thomas FitzBernard for assarts and other forest offenses.²⁹⁰ In the final account he reported a debt of £27 10s 2d for assarts and other forest infractions.²⁹¹

Geoffrey FitzAze, sheriff of Southamptonshire reported an account of £11 1s 8d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed in the forest of Hampshire. He paid £1,

²⁸⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 118.

²⁸⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 119.

²⁸⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 120.

²⁸⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 122.

²⁸⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 125.

²⁸⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 126.

²⁹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 130.

²⁹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 130.

leaving him £10 1s 8d in debt on that account.²⁹² In a second account of fines levied by Alan de Neville for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, Geoffrey reported a sum of £14 8s. He paid £1 12s 11d, leaving a debt of £12 15s 1d.²⁹³ In a third account, Geoffrey reported having levied a total of £8 19s 10d on assarts and other forest offenses, of which he paid 3s. This left the third account in debt to the crown £8 16s 10d.²⁹⁴ On a fourth account, levied by Thomas FitzBernard, Geoffrey reported a debt of £100 16s 11d for fines on assarts and other forest offenses.²⁹⁵

William FitzRalph and Serle de Grendon, sheriff of Nottingham and Derbyshire, reported a debt of 8s 2d for fines on assarts and waste levied by Thomas FitzBernard.²⁹⁶ Roger de Stuteville, sheriff of Northumberland, reported one debt for £2 11s on assart, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Alan de Neville,²⁹⁷ and one debt of £15 11s 10d for fines on assarts and other forest offenses.²⁹⁸

Officials reported a total of £86 16s 9d for assarts and related crimes in 1180. The treasury received £14 2s 4d, while some offenders received royal pardons that totaled a mere 2s 6d. Together with all those who reported only debt, this left a very hefty outstanding

²⁹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 132.

²⁹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 132.

²⁹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 133.

²⁹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 135.

²⁹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 138.

²⁹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 141.

²⁹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 142.

balance of £944 19s 7d.

1181

Ranulph Poer, sheriff of Herford in Wales, reported one account in debt for £32 13s 4d for assarts and waste in 1181.²⁹⁹ He rendered a second account of £11 4s 4d assessed on assarts and other forest offenses. On the second account he paid £8 19s 4d, and reported a pardon granted to William Hatewi of £1 10s. This left him in debt on the second account 15s.³⁰⁰

Ranulph Murdoch, sheriff of Nottingham and Derbyshire in 1181, reported an account of 8s 2d assessed by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts and waste, which he paid in full.³⁰¹ Michael Belet reported a debt of £27 6s 10d levied by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts and waste in his jurisdiction as sheriff of Worcester.³⁰² In Yorkshire, the sheriff, Ranulf de Glanville, reported two debts on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. The first debt totaled £1 13s 4d, and the second totaled £1 4s 4d.³⁰³

Hugo Pantulf, sheriff of Shropshire, reported one debt of £6 1s 4d for assarts and waste,³⁰⁴ and a second account, assessed by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts and other forest

²⁹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 2.

³⁰⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 3.

³⁰¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 12.

³⁰²Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 21.

³⁰³Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 36.

³⁰⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 17.

offenses, of £58 4s 6d. He paid £57 11s 2d, leaving the second account in debt 13s 4d.³⁰⁵

Robert de Vallibus, sheriff of Cumberland, reported an account of £33 15s 8d levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid the treasury £9 16s 6d, leaving himself in debt to the crown £23 19s 2d.³⁰⁶

In Devonshire, Sheriff William Briwere reported on three accounts in 1181. The first was a debt of 13s 4d assessed by Alan de Neville on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.³⁰⁷ Next was an account totaling £1 10s assessed on assarts and other forest offenses by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid 6s on this account, and remained 14s 10d in debt.³⁰⁸ The third account, also assess by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, totaled £14 6s 8d, of which William paid £10 5s 4d, leaving himself £4 4d in debt.³⁰⁹

Sheriff Alan de Furnell in Cornwall reported that Thomas FitzBernard had levied fines on assarts and other forest offenses totaling £30 14s 4d in his jurisdiction. He paid the Exchequer £20, leaving himself a debt to the treasury of £10 14s 4d.³¹⁰

Roger de Stuteville, sheriff of Northumberland reported a debt for fines assessed on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville totaling £3 1s.³¹¹ In a second

³⁰⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 19.

³⁰⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 25.

³⁰⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 28.

³⁰⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 30.

³⁰⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 31.

³¹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 33.

³¹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 48.

account, Roger reported assessing £15 11s 10d for assarts and other forest offenses, of which he paid £13 14s 8d.³¹² Although the Pipe Roll does not say, this would have left him in debt to the treasury £1 17s 2d.

Thomas FitzBernard reported on three accounts as sheriff of Northamptonshire in 1181. In the first account, he reported assessing £7 15s on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in conjunction with Alan de Neville. He paid 19s 3d on this account, leaving a debt of £6 15s 9d.³¹³ The sum of the second account, for fines levied on assarts and waste, was £73 5s 3d, of which he paid only £1 3s 8d, leaving a debt of £72 1s 7d.³¹⁴ The third account, listed as assessed by himself, totaled £96 6d in fines on assarts and other forest infractions. Thomas paid £68 18s 6d. He reported pardons granted to William de Humez for £5 16s 8d, to Robert de Curtenai for £2, to Nicholas the chaplain for 3s, and to William de Larval for 13s 4d. Pardons were also extended to the monks of Pipewell for £7 3s 4d, to Roland de Dinan for £1 6s 8d, to the monks of Swardsley for 3s. This left Thomas a debt of £9 16s. Thomas then reported on the same account and same debt. He entered a pardon extended to Roger de Calz for 13s 4d. In total, this left Thomas in debt to the crown £9 2s 8d.³¹⁵

Bertrand de Verdun, Arnold de Barton, and Adam de Audley, sheriffs of Warwick and Leicestershire, reported on three accounts. The first account totaled £1 9s for assarts in

³¹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 49.

³¹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 67.

³¹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 69.

³¹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 72.

Stanley, which was paid in full.³¹⁶ The second reported account was a debt of £1 4s for assarts and waste assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.³¹⁷ Finally, they reported an account of 6s for assarts, which they paid in full.³¹⁸

Sheriff of Rutland William Malduit rendered an account of £14 3s 10d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest collected in association with Thomas FitzBernard. William paid the treasury £4 6s 10d. He reported pardons granted to Wakelin de Ferrariis for £5 and to Roger Barre for 4s. This left William Malduit with a debt to the crown of £4 13s.³¹⁹

Robert Malduit, sheriff of Wiltshire, reported a debt of £12 4s 2d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in 1181.³²⁰

In the shires of Cambridge and Huntingdon, Sheriff Walter FitzHugo reported on two accounts in 1181. The first was a debt of 1s 9d for assarts and other forest offenses.³²¹ The second account totaled £24 3s 4d assessed on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Thomas FitzBernard in the forest of Huntingdon. Walter FitzHugo paid £14 16s 6d, and reported a pardon granted to Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, leaving a debt of £7 7s 10d. Then reporting on the same account for the same debt of £7 7s 10d, he paid an additional mark, or

³¹⁶Pipe Roll, vol. 30, 73.

³¹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 75.

³¹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 79.

³¹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 80.

³²⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 95.

³²¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 98.

13s 4d, leaving the debt at £6 14s 6d.³²²

Robert Mantel, sheriff of Essex and Hertford, rendered an account of £80 19s 2d for assarts, waste, and other forest offenses in 1181. He paid the Exchequer £46 13s 7d. and reported several pardons extended to violators by the crown. Geoffrey, bishop of Ely received a pardon of £6 7s 2d. The abbot of Bello was granted a pardon of 4s. The king extended pardons to William of Larval of 14s 6d, and to Eude FitzErnisi of £2. The countess of Ireland (i.e. *comtisse de Hybernia Eue*) received a pardon of £4. This left Robert Mantel a debt of £20 19s 11d. Then, reporting on the same account and same debt, Robert Mantel paid an additional £2 11s, leaving a final debt to the Exchequer of £18 8s 11d.³²³

In Stafford, Sheriff Herve de Stratton reported on two accounts pertaining to assarts and illegal land clearance. The first was a debt of £3 3s for assarts and waste.³²⁴ The second was an account assessed by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts, waste, and other forest infractions which totaled £29 9s 8d. He paid the treasury £21 9s, leaving a debt of £8 8d.³²⁵

In Gloucestershire, Sheriff William FitzStephen gave reports on two accounts levied in association with Thomas FitzBernard and related to assarts and forest offenses. The first account totaled £5 7s 4d for assarts and waste. A pardon of 7s 4d extended to the earl of Gloucester was reported, leaving the account in debt to the treasury £5.³²⁶ The second

³²²Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 101.

³²³Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 106.

³²⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 116.

³²⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 117.

³²⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 119.

account totaled £18 14s 10d on assarts, waste, and other infractions of the forest. William FitzStephen reported an other pardon granted to the earl of Gloucester, and on this account he also paid the treasury £12 11s 3d. This left him in debt to the crown £5 8s 3d on the second account.³²⁷

William Ruffus reported on four accounts relating to assarts and forest offenses in his shrievalty of Buckingham and Bedfordshire. The first was a debt of 6d on assarts, waste, and other forest offenses.³²⁸ The second account, levied on assarts and waste in the forest of Buckinghamshire by Thomas FitzBernard, totaled £5 6s, of which William paid 4s, leaving himself in debt £5 2s.³²⁹ The third account, levied on assarts, waste, and other infractions by Thomas FitzBernard in Bedfordshire, totaled £25 13s 4d. William paid £8 17s 10d, leaving a debt to the crown of £16 15s 6d.³³⁰ The final account, again assessed on assarts, waste, and other forest offenses by Thomas FitzBernard, this time in Buckinghamshire, totaled £27 10s 2d. William Ruffus paid £23 15s on this account, leaving a debt of £3 15s 2d.³³¹

In Southamptonshire, Sheriff Geoffrey FitzAze reported three accounts relating to assarts and other forest infractions. The first account, assessed on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Hampshire, totaled £10 1s 8d. Geoffrey paid £2 3s 4d. This left a debt to the

³²⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 121.

³²⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 124.

³²⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 124.

³³⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 127.

³³¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 127.

crown of £7 18s 4d.³³² The second account totaled £12 15s 1d assessed in Hampshire by Alan de Neville on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. Of this, Geoffrey paid £3 15s 4d, leaving a debt of £8 19s 9d.³³³ The third account, levied on assarts, waste, and other infractions in Hampshire, totaled £8 16s 10d. He paid the Exchequer 8s 8d, leaving a debt of £8 8s 2d.³³⁴

Hugo de St. Germanus, sheriff of Berkshire, rendered four accounts pertaining to assarts, waste, and other forest offenses in 1181. He first reported that he assessed £7 in revenue from assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid 13s 4d, leaving a debt to the crown of £6 6s 8d.³³⁵ Next he reported an account assessed on assarts, waste, and other offenses by Thomas FitzBernard in Berkshire. This account totaled £4 3s, of which Hugo paid 5s. This left him a debt on this account of £3 18s.³³⁶ The third account, also assessed by Thomas FitzBernard, this time on assarts and waste in the forest of Berkshire, totaled £2 16s. Hugo paid the crown £1 19s 4d, leaving himself a debt of 16s 8d.³³⁷ Finally, Hugo de St. Germanus rendered an account of £27 5s 10d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, assessed again by Thomas FitzBernard. Of this, Hugo paid the Exchequer £20 4s 4d, and reported a pardon of 3s extended to William de Larval, leaving himself a debt to the crown of

³³²Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 131.

³³³Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 131.

³³⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 132.

³³⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 138.

³³⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 138.

³³⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 138.

£6 18s 6d.³³⁸

Roger FitzRenfrid, sheriff of Sussex, rendered an account of £8 11s 8d on assarts and other forest offenses levied in association with Thomas FitzBernard in 1181. He paid £6 11s 8d, and reported a pardon of £2 extended to the archbishop of Canterbury. This left him paid in full.³³⁹

In Surrey, Sheriff Gervase de Cornhill rendered an account of £4 7s 6d for assarts and other offenses assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid £3 4s 6d, leaving a debt to the Exchequer of £1 3s.³⁴⁰ In a second account levied on assarts and waste by Thomas FitzBernard, Gervase reported a debt of £1 1s.³⁴¹ Next Gervase reported an account of £38 7s 8d assessed on assarts and other forest offenses in conjunction with Thomas FitzBernard. He paid £19 15s, and reported pardons extended by the crown to Alexander de Tichesia of £1 5s and Ham de Valoignis of 9s. This left Gervase with a debt to the Exchequer of £16 18s 8d.³⁴²

In the year 1181, royal officials reported a total of £728 2s 9d for accounts levied on assarts and related land clearance offenses. They collected and paid the crown £388 16s 5d. For its part, the crown issued pardons worth a total of £44 19s 8d. Taken together this left a total outstanding balance of £394 14s 5d.

³³⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 140.

³³⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 144.

³⁴⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 154.

³⁴¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 154.

³⁴²Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 155.

In 1182, Ranulph Poer, sheriff of Hereford in Wales, reported a debt for assarts and waste of £32 13s 4d.³⁴³ In a second account, he reported 15s levied on assarts and other forest infractions by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid 5s, leaving a debt to the treasury of 10s.³⁴⁴

In Shropshire, Hugo Pantulf reported assessing 13s 4d on assarts and other offenses with the assistance of Thomas FitzBernard. He paid the account in full.³⁴⁵

William FitzStephen reported on two accounts concerning assarts and related offenses in 1182. The first account totaled £5 8s 3d levied by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts and other forest infractions. Hugh de Lacy received a royal pardon of 13s 4d, William Crass received a pardon of 6s 8d, and William FitzStephen paid £3 3s 9d. This left a debt to the crown of £1 4s 6d.³⁴⁶ In a second account, he reported assessing £5 on assarts and waste, again through Thomas FitzBernard. He reported a pardon extended to Baldwin, bishop of Worcester for £5, clearing the account.³⁴⁷

Devonshire's sheriff, William Briwere reported three accounts concerning assarts in 1182. The first was a debt of 13s 4d owed for fines levied by Alan de Neville on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.³⁴⁸ The second account was for 14s 10d assessed by Thomas

³⁴³Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 13.

³⁴⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 14.

³⁴⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 23.

³⁴⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 26.

³⁴⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 26.

³⁴⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 28.

FitzBernard on assarts and other forest infractions. He paid the Exchequer 1s, leaving a debt of 13s 10d.³⁴⁹ Finally, he reported an account of £4 4d levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Thomas FitzBernard. William paid £2 2s and reported a pardon extended to the bishop of Exeter of 16s, leaving a debt to the crown of £1 2s 4d.³⁵⁰

Herve de Stratton, sheriff of Staffordshire, rendered an account of £5 15s 8d for assarts and other offenses recorded by Thomas FitzBernard in 1182. He paid the crown £2 19s 8d. This left him a debt to the Exchequer of £2 16s.³⁵¹ Reporting on the same debt and same account of £2 16s, Herve de Stratton contributed a further 1s 6d which he reportedly received from the sheriff of Worcestershire. This left the debt at £2 14s 6d.³⁵²

Ranulf de Glanville reported two accounts, both of which were debts for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, as sheriff of Yorkshire in 1182. The first debt was £1 13s 4d assessed by Alan de Neville, and the second debt was £1 4s 4d also assessed by Alan de Neville but in conjunction with other forester, including Robert Mantel and William FitzRalph.³⁵³

Roger de Stuteville reported an account of £1 17s 2d for fines assessed on assarts and other forest offenses in his jurisdiction as sheriff of Northumberland. He paid this account in

³⁴⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 29.

³⁵⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 30.

³⁵¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 34.

³⁵²Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 34.

³⁵³Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 38.

full.³⁵⁴ Walter FitzHugo, sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire rendered an account of £6 14s 6d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied in Huntingdonshire by Thomas FitzBernard. Walter paid £2 2s, leaving a debt to the crown of £4 12s 6d.³⁵⁵

Michael Belet rendered two accounts for assarts and related offenses as sheriff of Worcestershire in 1182. The first account totaled £27 6s 10d levied on assarts and waste by Thomas FitzBernard, of which £2 17s 4d was paid to the crown. This left the account in debt £24 9s 6d.³⁵⁶ The second account, levied on assarts and other offenses, totaled £40 11s 4d. Michael paid £22 4d, leaving a debt of £18 11s.³⁵⁷

In Cornwall, Thomas FitzBernard assessed £10 14s 4d on fines on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, according to the report made by sheriff, Alan de Furnell. The crown received £6 14s 4d, leaving a debt of £4.³⁵⁸

Robert Malduit, sheriff of Wiltshire, reported two debts illegal land clearance in 1182. The first debt was £3 1s for assarts and other forest offenses in the forest of Wiltshire, and the second debt was for £5 11s 8d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.³⁵⁹

Sheriffs Arnold de Barton and Bertrand de Verdun of Warwick and Leicestershire reported a debt of £1 4s for fines levied on assarts and waste by Thomas FitzBernard on

³⁵⁴Pipe Rolls, vol 31, 49.

³⁵⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 76.

³⁵⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 78.

³⁵⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 80.

³⁵⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 82.

³⁵⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 86.

properties in Leicestershire.³⁶⁰

Otto FitzWilliam, sheriff of Essex and Hertford, reported four accounts concerning assarts and illegal land clearance in 1182. The was an account of £1 for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest of Essex. He paid 9s, leaving a debt of 11s to the crown.³⁶¹ The second account, also levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Essex, was a debt of £5 11s 6d.³⁶² The third account totaled £2 6d for assarts and related offenses of the forest laws in Essex. Otto paid 10s 6d, leaving a debt of £1 10s.³⁶³ In the final account, levied on properties in Essex for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, he rendered a total of £18 8s 11d. He paid the Exchequer £3 8s 11d, leaving a debt of £15.³⁶⁴

As sheriff of Berkshire, Hugo de St. Germanus too reported on four accounts concerning assarts. The first account for fines on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest totaled £6 6s 8d. He paid 13s 4d, leaving a debt of £5 13s 4d.³⁶⁵ The second account, levied on assarts and other offenses by Thomas FitzBernard, totaled £3 18s. He paid 5s, leaving a debt of £3 13s.³⁶⁶ The third account was a debt of 16s 8d for assarts and waste assessed by

³⁶⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 93.

³⁶¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 98.

³⁶²Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 99.

³⁶³Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 99.

³⁶⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 100.

³⁶⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 104.

³⁶⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 104.

Thomas FitzBernard.³⁶⁷ Hugo rendered a final account of £6 18s 8d for fines assessed on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Thomas FitzBernard. Hugo paid £3 3s 2d, and reported a pardon extended to the monks of Amesbury of 2s. This left a debt to the crown of £3 13s 4d.³⁶⁸

In Buckingham and Bedfordshire, Sheriff William Ruffus rendered four accounts related to assarts and forest infractions. The first account was a debt of 6d for assarts and other forest offenses on property in Bedfordshire.³⁶⁹ The second account totaled £5 2s for assarts and waste in Buckinghamshire assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. The pipe rolls indicate that William Ruffus paid the treasury £4 18s, and report that this left a debt of 3s 4d,³⁷⁰ a sum that leaves the account out of balance. The third account totaled £1 19s 4d assessed on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Bedfordshire by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid £1 4s 6d, leaving a debt of 14s 10d.³⁷¹ The final account totaled £3 8s 6d assessed on assarts and related offenses committed in Buckinghamshire, of which he paid the Exchequer £2 1s 9d. This left a debt to the crown of £1 6s 9d.³⁷²

In 1182 in Oxfordshire, Sheriff Robert de Witefeld reported one debt on assarts,

³⁶⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 105.

³⁶⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 106.

³⁶⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 117.

³⁷⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 117.

³⁷¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 120.

³⁷²Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 120.

waste, and pleas of the forest of £7 6s.³⁷³ He reported a second debt assessed by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts and other offenses totaling £5 17s 10d.³⁷⁴

Thomas FitzBernard, acting as sheriff of Northamptonshire, reported on three accounts concerning assarts and related forest offenses in 1182. The first account totaled £6 15s 9d assessed on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville and his justices. Thomas paid £5 2d, leaving a debt to the crown of £1 15s 7d.³⁷⁵ The second account totaled £72 1s 7d for assarts and waste. He paid 9s 3d, and reported a pardon extended to William de Lisors of £21 12s, leaving a debt to the treasury of £50 4d.³⁷⁶ The third account, levied by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts and related offenses, totaled £9 2s 8d. Henry de Ver received a pardon by letters from Ranulf de Glanville of 6s 8d. William Lisors again received a pardon, this time for £3 1s, and the sheriff paid the treasury £2 19s 10d, leaving a debt of £2 15s 2d.³⁷⁷

Robert de Vallibus, sheriff of Cumberland, reported an account of £23 19s 2d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid his account in full.³⁷⁸

In Southamptonshire, Sheriff Geoffrey FitzAze reported several accounts in 1182 pertaining to assarting and related offenses. He first reported an account on assarts, waste,

³⁷³Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 125.

³⁷⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 126.

³⁷⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 130.

³⁷⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 131.

³⁷⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 133.

³⁷⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 137.

and pleas of the forest that was in debt £7 18s 4d.³⁷⁹ The second account totaled £8 19s 9d assessed in the forest of Hampshire by Alan de Neville on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid £1 15s 11d, and reported a pardon to William de Courcy for 12s, leaving a debt to the crown of £6 11s 10d.³⁸⁰ Next he rendered an account of £8 8s 2d on assarts and related offenses in Hampshire. He paid 4s, and reported a pardon extended to William Courcy of 9s.³⁸¹ The pipe rolls record no “amount owed,” but his payment and the pardon would have left him a debt of £7 15s 2d. The third account reported by Geoffrey FitzAze totaled £43 14s 7d assessed in conjunction with Thomas FitzBernard on assarts and related offenses in the forest of Hampshire. Geoffrey paid the Exchequer £2 10s 3d. The monks of Waverley received a pardon of £10. William de Courcy received a pardon of £5 9s 10d. The Archbishop of Roth received three pardons on this account of £2 13s 4d, £1 13s, and 12s. This left Geoffrey with a ending debt on the account of £30 5s 2d.³⁸²

Gervase de Cornhill, serving as sheriff of Surrey, in 1182 reported an account of £16 18s 8d assessed on assarts and related offenses in conjunction with Thomas FitzBernard. The monastery of Haliwell received a pardon of £2 5s, and the monks of Waverley received a pardon of £2. Gervase paid the treasury £4 19s 4d, leaving a debt to the Exchequer of £7 14s 4d.³⁸³

³⁷⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 140.

³⁸⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 140.

³⁸¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 141.

³⁸²Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 142.

³⁸³Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 158.

In total for the year ending Michaelmas 1182, royal officials reported active accounts levied on assarts and related offenses totaling £351 10s 4d. They paid the crown £103 11s 4d and reported pardons that totaled £58 11s 10d. This left an outstanding balance of £262 14s.

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Otto FitzWilliam, sheriff of Essex and Hertford, reported on four accounts concerning assarts in 1183. The first account totaled 11s levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest of Essex. He paid 2s, leaving a debt of 9s.³⁸⁴ Second he reported an account in debt £5 11s 6d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.³⁸⁵ The third account levied on assarts and related offenses, totaled £1 10s, of which he paid 18s 3d. This left him in debt 11s 9d for his account in that part of Essex.³⁸⁶ The final account rendered totaled £15 for assarts and related offenses, also in Essex. Otto paid £3 16s 10d, leaving a debt to the crown of £11 3s 2d.³⁸⁷

Bertrand de Verdun and Arnold de Barton, acting as sheriffs of Warwick and Leicestershire, in 1182 reported an account of £1 4s assessed by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts and waste in Leicestershire. A pardon granted to the monks of Beaulieu of £1 4s cleared the account.³⁸⁸ Ranulph Bardulf, sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire reported a debt of £4 12s 6d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Thomas

³⁸⁴Pipe Rolls, vol 32, 20.

³⁸⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 32. 20.

³⁸⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 20.

³⁸⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 21.

³⁸⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 35.

FitzBernard.³⁸⁹ Sheriff of Rutland, Chamberlain William Malduit reported a debt of £3 5s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.³⁹⁰ Alan de Furnell, sheriff of Cornwall, reported an account of £4 for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, of which he paid £1, leaving £3 owed to the Exchequer.³⁹¹

In Yorkshire, Ranulf de Glanville reported on two assart-related accounts in 1183. The first was a debt of £1 13s 4d assessed by Alan de Neville on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.³⁹² The second account, assessed by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest totaled £1 4s 4d. He paid 1s, leaving a debt of £1 3s 4d.³⁹³

Sheriff William Ruffus of Buckingham and Bedfordshire reported several debts in 1183. He owed 6d for assarts and related offenses in Bedfordshire.³⁹⁴ In another account he reported owing 3s 4d for assarts and waste assessed in Buckinghamshire by Thomas FitzBernard.³⁹⁵ He owed 14s 10d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Thomas FitzBernard in Bedfordshire.³⁹⁶ His last debt was for £1 6s 9d assessed on assarts

³⁸⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 42.

³⁹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 45.

³⁹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 73.

³⁹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 48.

³⁹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 49.

³⁹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 76.

³⁹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 77.

³⁹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 78.

and other forest offenses in Bedfordshire.³⁹⁷

Gervase de Cornhill, sheriff of Surrey, reported three assart-related accounts assessed in his jurisdiction in conjunction with Thomas FitzBernard. He first rendered an account of 16s assessed on assarts and other forest offenses. He paid 6s, leaving 10s outstanding.³⁹⁸ In a second account, he reported owing 15s for assarts and waste. He paid 5s, leaving 10s outstanding.³⁹⁹ Gervase de Cornhill's final account totaled £7 14s 4d assessed on assarts and related offenses. He paid the treasury £3 10s 4d, leaving an outstanding balance of £4 4s.⁴⁰⁰

Gloucestershire's sheriff, William FitzStephen, reported an account of £1 4s 6d assessed on assarts and related forest offenses by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid 6d, leaving £1 4s outstanding.⁴⁰¹ In Staffordshire, Sheriff Herve de Stratton reported a debt of £2 14s 6d in 1183 for assarts and related offenses assessed in his jurisdiction by Thomas FitzBernard.⁴⁰²

As sheriff of Oxfordshire, Robert Witefeld reported one debt of £7 6s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in 1183.⁴⁰³ He reported a second account in debt £2 17s 10d for assarts and related offenses.⁴⁰⁴

³⁹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 78.

³⁹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 84.

³⁹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 84.

⁴⁰⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 85,

⁴⁰¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 95.

⁴⁰²Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 97.

⁴⁰³Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 101.

⁴⁰⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 102.

Milo de Muzegros, sheriff of Hereford in Wales, reported a debt of £32 13s 4d on an account of assarts and waste assessed by Alan de Neville.⁴⁰⁵ He reported a second debt of 10s on a second account assessed on assarts and other forest infraction by Thomas FitzBernard.⁴⁰⁶

Sheriff William Briwere of Devonshire reported a debt of 13s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Alan de Neville.⁴⁰⁷ In a second account, he reported a debt of 13s 10d for assarts and related offenses assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.⁴⁰⁸ In a third account, also on assarts and other forest offenses assessed by Thomas FitzBernard, William Briwere reported a total of £1 2s 4d. He paid 11s 2d, leaving 11s 2d outstanding.⁴⁰⁹

In Northamptonshire, Sheriff Thomas FitzBernard reported on three assart-related accounts in 1183. The first account, assessed on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville, totaled £1 15s 7d. He paid 13s 8d, which left this account with £1 1s 11d outstanding.⁴¹⁰ The second account totaled £50 4d for assarts and waste. He paid £8 1s 4d to the Exchequer, whose clerk noted that of the payment ten marks (i.e. £6 13s 4d) came from the abbot of Burgo and 28s came from the sheriff. This left an outstanding balance of £41 19s.⁴¹¹ The third account, noted as assessed through Thomas FitzBernard on assarts and

⁴⁰⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 110.

⁴⁰⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 110.

⁴⁰⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 113.

⁴⁰⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 114.

⁴⁰⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 114.

⁴¹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol 32, 119.

⁴¹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 121.

related forest offenses, totaled £2 15 2d. The treasury received 3s 6d, leaving a debt to the crown of £2 11s 8d.⁴¹²

Robert Malduit, sheriff of Wiltshire, reported on account in debt £3 1s for assarts and related infractions in the king's forest in Wiltshire.⁴¹³ In a second account, he reported an account of £5 11s 8d assessed on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid 8s, leaving a debt to the Exchequer of £5 3s 8d.⁴¹⁴

Worcestershire's sheriff, Michael Belet, reported one account in debt £24 9s 6d for assarts and waste assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.⁴¹⁵ A second account, assessed on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, totaled £18 11s. The treasury received £6 4s 8d, leaving an outstanding debt to the crown of £12 6s 4d.⁴¹⁶

Hugo de St. Germanus, sheriff of Berkshire, reported four assart related accounts in 1183. The first account levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest totaled £5 13s 4d. Hugo paid the Exchequer 13s 4d, leaving £5 outstanding.⁴¹⁷ The second account, levied on assarts and related infractions by Thomas FitzBernard, totaled £3 13s. The treasury received 9s, leaving an outstanding balance of £3 3s.⁴¹⁸ The third account rendered for assarts and

⁴¹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 122.

⁴¹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 127.

⁴¹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 128.

⁴¹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 131.

⁴¹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 133.

⁴¹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 135.

⁴¹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 135.

waste, also assessed by Thomas FitzBernard, totaled 16s 8d, of which Hugo de St. Germanus paid 11s 8d. The third account was left in debt 5s.⁴¹⁹ Hugo de St. Germanus' fourth account for 1183 totaled £3 13s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid 3s 6d, leaving a debt to the Exchequer of £3 9s 10d.⁴²⁰

Geoffrey FitzAze, sheriff of Southamptonshire, reported four accounts concerning assarts and other forest offenses in 1183. The first account was a debt of £7 18s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Hampshire.⁴²¹ The second account was in debt £6 11s 10d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Hampshire assessed by Alan de Neville.⁴²² Third he reported a debt of £7 15s 2d for assarts and related offenses in Hampshire.⁴²³ Finally, Geoffrey reported an account of £19 15s 2d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Hampshire assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid the treasury 8s 8d, leaving a debt of £19 6s 6d.⁴²⁴

Officials reported a total of £147 6s 9d in active accounts assessed on assarts, waste, and related offenses in 1183. While reporting only £1 4s in pardons, they paid the treasury £28 8s 5d, leaving the crown with an outstanding balance of £232 6s 9d.

⁴¹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 135.

⁴²⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 136.

⁴²¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 142.

⁴²²Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 142.

⁴²³Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 143.

⁴²⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 144.

In 1184, the sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, Ralph Bardulf, rendered an account levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Huntingdonshire by Thomas FitzBernard that totaled £4 12s 6d. He reported a pardon extended to the bishop of Lincoln of £2 13s, and paid the treasury nothing himself. This left an outstanding debt to the Exchequer of £1 19s 6d.⁴²⁵

William Torel, sheriff of Hereford in Wales, reported a debt of £32 13s 4d on assarts and waste, levied by Alan de Neville.⁴²⁶ In a second account for 1184, William Torel reported a debt of 10s for assarts and other forest offenses assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.⁴²⁷

Ranulf de Glanville, sheriff of Yorkshire, reported a debt of £1 13s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Alan de Neville in 1184.⁴²⁸ In a second account, levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville and Robert Mantel, he reported a sum of £1 3s 4d. He paid the Exchequer 3s, leaving a debt of £1 1s 4d.⁴²⁹

Sheriffs of Warwick and Leicestershire, Bertrand de Verdun and Arnold de Barton reported a sum of £1 9s levied on assarts in Stanley. The account was paid in full.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 11.

⁴²⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 26.

⁴²⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 27.

⁴²⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 32.

⁴²⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 32.

⁴³⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 43.

Hugo de St. Germanus, sheriff of Berkshire, reported three accounts concerning assarts and other forest infractions in 1184, all of which were levied in conjunction with Thomas FitzBernard. The first account totaled £5 for assarts and related offenses. The crown received 13s 4d, leaving a debt of £4 6s 8d.⁴³¹ The second account was a debt of £3 4s for fees levied on assarts and related offenses.⁴³² Finally, he reported a debt of 5s for assarts and waste.⁴³³

Serving as sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1184, William FitzStephen reported a debt of £1 4s for assarts and related offenses. The fees were assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.⁴³⁴

Michael Belet, sheriff of Worcestershire, reported on two accounts concerning assarts and forest offenses in 1184. The first account was a debt for assarts and waste of £24 9s 6d, which had been levied through Thomas FitzBernard.⁴³⁵ The second account, assessed on assarts and related offenses, totaled £12 6s 4d. The sheriff paid £2 13s 2d, and reported a pardon extended to the monks of Chokhille of 3s. This left a debt to the crown of £9 13s 2d.⁴³⁶

Sheriff Herve de Stratton of Staffordshire reported a debt of £2 14s 6d for assarts and

⁴³¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 53.

⁴³²Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 53.

⁴³³Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 53.

⁴³⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 61.

⁴³⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 64.

⁴³⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 65.

related offenses assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.⁴³⁷ Robert Witefeld, sheriff of Oxfordshire, reported one debt of £7 6s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, and a second debt of £2 17s 10d for assarts and related infractions in 1184.⁴³⁸ In Devonshire, Sheriff William Briwere reported one debt of 13s 4d on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Alan de Neville,⁴³⁹ a second debt of 13s 10d assessed on assarts and related infractions assessed by Thomas FitzBernard,⁴⁴⁰ and a third debt of 11 s 2d for assarts and related offenses, again assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.⁴⁴¹

Geoffrey FitzAze, sheriff of Southamptonshire, reported a debt of £7 18s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Hampshire in 1184.⁴⁴² In a second account, assessed in Hampshire by Alan de Neville, he reported a sum of £6 11s 10d levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. Geoffrey paid 2s 6d, leaving a debt to the Exchequer of £6 9s 4d.⁴⁴³ The third account he reported was again an outstanding debt of £7 15s 2d for assarts and related offenses in Hampshire.⁴⁴⁴ Finally, Geoffrey FitzAze reported an account of £19 6s 6d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed in conjunction with Thomas FitzBernard.

⁴³⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 68.

⁴³⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 71.

⁴³⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 75.

⁴⁴⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 76.

⁴⁴¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 76.

⁴⁴²Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 81.

⁴⁴³Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 81.

⁴⁴⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 82.

He paid the crown £2 1s 3d, leaving a debt of £17 5s 3d.⁴⁴⁵

Alan de Furnell, sheriff of Cornwall, reported owing £3 for an account concerning assarts, waste, and pleas in Cornwall. He paid £1 to the treasury, leaving £2 outstanding.⁴⁴⁶

In Wiltshire, Sheriff Robert Malduit reported a debt of £1 13s in 1184 for assarts and other related offenses committed in the kings forest in Wiltshire.⁴⁴⁷ Sheriff of Rutland, Chamberlain Thomas Malduit, reported an outstanding debt of £3 5s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in his jurisdiction.⁴⁴⁸

As sheriffs of Northamptonshire, Thomas FitzBernard and Ranulph Morin reported three accounts concerning assarts and related activities in 1184. The first account was a sum of £1 1s 11d assessed on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Northamptonshire by Alan de Nevill. The sheriffs paid 5s, leaving a debt to the crown of 16s 11d.⁴⁴⁹ The second account totaled £41 19s, which had been levied on assarts and waste. The sheriffs paid £16 13s 4d, leaving a debt of £25 5s 8d. Then reporting on the same account and same debt, they paid an additional 10s 11d, leaving the account with a final outstanding balance of £24 14s 9d.⁴⁵⁰ The third account the sheriffs of Northamptonshire reported totaled £2 11s 8d for assarts and related offenses assessed by Thomas FitzBernard, apparently near the town of

⁴⁴⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 83.

⁴⁴⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 88.

⁴⁴⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 93.

⁴⁴⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 109.

⁴⁴⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 103.

⁴⁵⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 104.

Northampton. The sheriffs paid nothing themselves, but reported a pardon extended to Gilbert Pipard of 13s 4d. This left the account with an outstanding balance of £1 18s 4d.⁴⁵¹

William Ruffus, sheriff of Buckingham and Bedfordshire reported one account assessed on assarts and related offenses in Bedfordshire as a debt of 6s.⁴⁵² He reported a second account of 3s 4d for assarts and waste in Buckinghamshire assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid this account in full.⁴⁵³ A third account totaled 14s 10d assessed on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Bedfordshire levied by Thomas FitzBernard. William paid 6d, leaving a debt to the Exchequer of 14s 4d.⁴⁵⁴ William Ruffus' final account was a debt of £1 6s 9d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed in Buckinghamshire by Thomas FitzBernard.⁴⁵⁵

In Essex and Hertfordshire, Sheriff Otto FitzWilliam reported four accounts in 1184 that concerned assarts and related forest offenses. The first account he reported was a debt of 11s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.⁴⁵⁶ The second account totaled £5 11s 6d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Essex. The sheriff paid nothing on this account, but reported a pardon granted to the bishop of Ely for the full amount, leaving the account

⁴⁵¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 105.

⁴⁵²Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 114.

⁴⁵³Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 114.

⁴⁵⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 115.

⁴⁵⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 115.

⁴⁵⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 130.

clear.⁴⁵⁷ Next Otto FitzWilliam reported a debt of 11s 9d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest which he had levied in Essex.⁴⁵⁸ Finally, he rendered an account of £11 3s 2d for assarts and related infractions in Essex. He paid the treasury £1 10s, leaving a debt of £9 13s 2d.⁴⁵⁹

Henry de Cornhill, sheriff of Surrey, reported on three accounts relating to assarts and other forest offenses in 1184. The first two were each debts of 10s each, assessed by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts and waste.⁴⁶⁰ The third account totaled £4 4s for assarts and related infractions, again assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid 12s, leaving the account £3 12s in debt to the crown.⁴⁶¹

The king's officials reported active accounts levied on assarts and related crimes that totaled £120 18s 11d in 1184. They collected and paid the treasury £27 16s 4d and reported £9 1s in pardons. The Exchequer's outstanding balance totaled £212 13s 3d.

1185

In 1185, Otto FitzWilliam, sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, reported on two accounts related to assarting. The first account was a debt of 11s 9d for assarts and related

⁴⁵⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 130.

⁴⁵⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 130.

⁴⁵⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 131.

⁴⁶⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 153.

⁴⁶¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 153.

infractions.⁴⁶² The second account totaled £9 13s 2d for assarts and related offenses. He paid £2 19s 4d to the treasury. This left a debt to the crown of £6 13s 10d.⁴⁶³

Hugo de St. Germanus, sheriff of Berkshire, reported three accounts concerning assarts and other forest offenses in 1185. The first account totaled £4 6s 8d for assarts and related offenses. He paid 6s 8d, leaving a debt of £4 to the crown.⁴⁶⁴ The second account reported was a debt of £3 4s assessed on assarts and other infractions by Thomas FitzBernard.⁴⁶⁵ The third account totaled £3 9s 10d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid 2s 6d, leaving a debt to the crown of £3 7s 4d.⁴⁶⁶

Geoffrey FitzPeter, sheriff of Northamptonshire, reported several accounts concerning assarts and related offenses in 1185. The first account was a debt of 16s 11d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Alan de Neville.⁴⁶⁷ His second account was a debt of £24 14s 9d for assarts and waste.⁴⁶⁸ The third account Geoffrey FitzPeter reported totaled £1 18s 4d for assarts and related offenses in the town of Northampton assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid 14s to the crown, leaving a debt of £1 4s 4d.⁴⁶⁹ The next account from

⁴⁶²Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 14.

⁴⁶³Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 14.

⁴⁶⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 22.

⁴⁶⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 22.

⁴⁶⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 22.

⁴⁶⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 46.

⁴⁶⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 47.

⁴⁶⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 48.

Northamptonshire totaled £3 12s for assarts. The sheriff paid £2 14s 2d, leaving a debt to the Exchequer of 17s 10d.⁴⁷⁰

Geoffrey FitzPeter next reported an account of £28 3d for assarts and related infractions. He paid £21 4s 9d, leaving a debt to the treasury of £6 15s 6d. Then, reporting on the same account and same debt, he paid an additional 4s, leaving the final outstanding balance of the account at £6 11s 6d.⁴⁷¹ In his last reported account of 1185, Geoffrey reported an account of £52 1s 4d levied on assarts and waste, which he paid in full.⁴⁷²

Reporting privately from Northamptonshire, William de Peissi rendered an account of £7 10s for assarts in Southampton and Blideswuth. William Peissi reported that he had received from the crown a pardon of £7 6s 8d, leaving the account in debt to the Exchequer 3s 4d.⁴⁷³

Walter Malduit, sheriff of Rutland, reported a debt of £3 5s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in 1185.⁴⁷⁴ In Yorkshire, Sheriff Ranulf de Glanville reported a debt of £1 1s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed in his jurisdiction by Alan de Neville and Robert Mantel.⁴⁷⁵

Sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire Ralph Bardulf reported on three accounts

⁴⁷⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 51.

⁴⁷¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 52.

⁴⁷²Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 52.

⁴⁷³Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 51.

⁴⁷⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 53.

⁴⁷⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 63.

in 1185. The first account was a debt of £1 9s 6d levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Huntingdon in conjunction with Thomas FitzBernard.⁴⁷⁶ The second account, levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest of Huntingdon, totaled £9 5s 6d. Ralph paid the treasury £6 19s 9d, leaving a debt of £2 5s 9d. Next, reporting on the same debt on the same account, he paid £1 16s 3d, leaving the final debt to the treasury 9s 6d.⁴⁷⁷ The third account totaled 9s for assarts, which Ralph paid in full.⁴⁷⁸

In Warwick and Leicestershire, Sheriffs Bertrand de Verdun and Arnold de Barton reported an account of £2 18s for assarts and related offenses in Leicestershire. They paid the treasury £1 13s, leaving a debt of 5s.⁴⁷⁹ Also in Warwick and Leicestershire, the prior of LaLanda rendered an account of £1 5s for assarts. He paid the treasury 12s, leaving himself in debt to the crown 13s.⁴⁸⁰

Sheriff of Oxfordshire Robert de Witefeld made four reports concerning assarts in 1185. He reported two debts, one of £7 6s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest,⁴⁸¹ and another of £2 17s 10d for assarts and related infractions.⁴⁸² The third account he reported totaled £1 assessed on assarts in Coulea. This account was cleared by a pardon of £1

⁴⁷⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 55.

⁴⁷⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 59.

⁴⁷⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 59.

⁴⁷⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 103.

⁴⁸⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 103.

⁴⁸¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 106.

⁴⁸²Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 107.

extended to the Knights Templar for their fines.⁴⁸³ Robert de Witefeld reported a final account of £5 2s for assarts and related activities. He paid the Exchequer £3 2s 6d. The remaining debt is listed as £1 17s 6d, which actually leaves the account short 2s.⁴⁸⁴

Sheriff of Worcestershire Michael Belet entered four reports concerning assarts and related activities at the Exchequer in 1185. The first report was of a debt of £24 9s 6d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.⁴⁸⁵ Second, he rendered an account of £9 13s 2d for assarts and related infractions. He paid £1 4s 4d, leaving a debt to the treasury of £8 8s 10d.⁴⁸⁶ The third account was again a debt, this time for £13 15s 6d levied on assarts.⁴⁸⁷ Fourth, he reported an account of £4 12s 7d levied on assarts, which he paid in full.⁴⁸⁸ The abbey of Pershore also reported a debt of £1 for assarts as part of the account of Worcestershire in 1185.⁴⁸⁹

In Shropshire a fellow named Malcolm reported an account of £5 for assarts, which he paid in full.⁴⁹⁰ Maurice de Hudeswich reported a debt of 5s for assarts in Shropshire.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸³Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 108.

⁴⁸⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 109. Presumably the modern editors of the pipe rolls noticed the discrepancy, noting "*sic*" in a footnote to the entry.

⁴⁸⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 119.

⁴⁸⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 120.

⁴⁸⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 122.

⁴⁸⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 124.

⁴⁸⁹Pipe Roll, vol. 34, 122.

⁴⁹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 128.

⁴⁹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 129.

The sheriff of Shropshire, Hugo Pantulf, reported an account of £9 17s 6d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid the treasury £6 4d, leaving a balance of £3 17s 2d unpaid.⁴⁹²

Also in Shropshire in 1185, Richard Tornee reported a debt of 1s, Ralph de Lillehulla, reported a debt of 2s, and Edward de Lillehulla reported a debt of 1s.⁴⁹³

William Ruffus, sheriff of Buckingham and Bedfordshire, made multiple reports concerning assarts in 1185. His first reports was of an account of 6d owed for assarts and related offenses in Bedfordshire. A pardon extended to the Knights Hospitaller cleared this account.⁴⁹⁴ The next account was a debt of 14s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Thomas FitzBernard.⁴⁹⁵ William Ruffus then reported an account of £1 6s 9d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed in Buckinghamshire “by the same Thomas.” The sheriff paid £1, leaving a debt to the crown of 6s 9d.⁴⁹⁶ The next account totaled £15 2s for assarts and related offenses in Buckinghamshire. William paid the treasury £10 5s, leaving this account in debt £4 17s.⁴⁹⁷ The final account William Ruffus reported was a sum of £8 8s 3d. He paid the treasury £5 2s 6d, and reported that the Knights Hospitallers had received a pardon for 12s 6d. This left the account with an outstanding balance of £2 13s

⁴⁹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 129.

⁴⁹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 129.

⁴⁹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 132.

⁴⁹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 133.

⁴⁹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 133.

⁴⁹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 139.

3d.⁴⁹⁸ The final report on an account concerning assarts was made by the Knights Templar, who rendered an account of £2 5s for assarts and waste, £1 5s of which was assessed in Scharnebroc and £1 of which was assessed in Murihell. They received a pardon for the full amount of their activities, which left the account clear.⁴⁹⁹

In Gloucestershire, Sheriff William FitzStephen reported an account of £13 10s 6d assessed on assarts by Robert de Hasley and his fellow justices. He paid the Exchequer £4 19s 6d, leaving a debt to the crown of £8 11s.⁵⁰⁰

In Northumberland, Sheriff Roger de Stuteville reported an account of £2 8s 9d for assarts, which he paid in full.⁵⁰¹ Thomas Noel, sheriff of Staffordshire, reported an account of £2 14s 6d for assarts and related offenses assessed in his jurisdiction in conjunction with Thomas FitzBernard. He paid £1 13s 6d, leaving a debt of £1 1s.⁵⁰² Sheriff of Sussex Roger FitzRenfrid reported an account of £2 18s 6d for assarts and related infractions. He paid £1 9s, leaving a debt of £1 9s 6d.⁵⁰³

In Wiltshire, Sheriff Robert Malduit reported an account of £1 13s for assarts and related offenses. He paid the treasury 15s, leaving a debt to the Exchequer of 18s.⁵⁰⁴ In his

⁴⁹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 140.

⁴⁹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 140.

⁵⁰⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 148.

⁵⁰¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 153.

⁵⁰²Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 165.

⁵⁰³Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 171.

⁵⁰⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 190.

second account he reported £23 3d for assarts and related infractions. He paid the crown £15 3d, and reported that Gilbert de Meleford had received a pardon of 5s for his part of the account. This left a total outstanding balance on the second account of £7 14s 11d.⁵⁰⁵ In the forest of Wiltshire, the monks of Farleigh incurred a debt of £1 17s for assarts and related infractions.⁵⁰⁶

In Hereford in Wales, Sheriff William Torel reported on three accounts in 1185. The first account was a debt of £32 13s 4d for assarts and waste assessed by Alan de Neville.⁵⁰⁷ The second account was also a debt, this time of 10s for assarts and related offenses assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.⁵⁰⁸ The third account William Torel rendered totaled £3 19s 6d for assarts. He paid the treasury £1 2s 5d, leaving the account in debt £2 17s 1d.⁵⁰⁹

Alan de Furnell, sheriff of Cornwall, reported an account of £2 for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest for 1185. He paid half the debt, leaving himself in debt to the Exchequer £1.⁵¹⁰

Sheriff of Southamptonshire Geoffrey FitzAze, reported several accounts related to assarting and other forest offenses in 1185. The first account was a simple debt of £7 15s 2d

⁵⁰⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 194.

⁵⁰⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 193.

⁵⁰⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 197.

⁵⁰⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 198.

⁵⁰⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 199.

⁵¹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 200.

for assarts and related infractions in Hampshire.⁵¹¹ Next he reported an account of £7 18s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Hampshire. He paid the treasury 9s 4d, leaving a debt of £7 9s.⁵¹² Third, Geoffrey reported an account of £6 9s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Alan de Neville. He paid 1s, leaving a debt of £6 8s 4d.⁵¹³ The fourth account, for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed in Hampshire by Thomas FitzBernard, totaled £17 5s 3d. Geoffrey paid £8 14s 3d, leaving an outstanding balance of £8 11s.⁵¹⁴ Then, reporting on the same account and same debt of £8 11s, Geoffrey FitzAze contributed a further £1, reducing the debt to £7 11s.⁵¹⁵ In his last account for the year, Geoffrey FitzAze reported an account of £31 13s 4d for assarts and related infractions. He paid the crown £27 7s 3d, leaving a debt of £4 6s 1d.⁵¹⁶ Finally, once again reporting on the same account and same debt of £4 6s 1d, Geoffrey FitzAze paid the treasury another 3s. This reduced the debt to £4 3s 1d.⁵¹⁷

Henry de Cornhill, sheriff of Surrey, reported on three accounts concerning assarts in 1185. The first two were debts of 10s each, assessed on assarts and waste by Thomas

⁵¹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 208.

⁵¹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 208.

⁵¹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 208.

⁵¹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 209.

⁵¹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 209.

⁵¹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 212.

⁵¹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 212.

FitzBernard.⁵¹⁸ The third account was a debt for assarts and other forest infractions assessed by Thomas FitzBernard that totaled £3 12s.⁵¹⁹

The year ending Michaelmas 1185 found officials reporting active accounts for assarts and related offenses that totaled £324 6s 5d. The crown issued pardons that totaled £11 9s 8d, and officials paid the Exchequer £195 7s 4d. The counties remained in debt to the crown a total of £250 10s 4d.

1186

In the year 1186, the sheriff of Northamptonshire, Geoffrey FitzPeter, reported on several accounts of assart-related activity in his jurisdiction. The first account totaled 16s 11d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Alan de Neville. He paid 1s 11d, leaving 15s unpaid.⁵²⁰ His second account totaled £24 14s 9d levied on assarts and waste. He paid 12s, leaving a debt of £24 2s 9d.⁵²¹ Geoffrey's third account was a simple debt of £1 4s 4d for assarts and related offenses assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.⁵²² Geoffrey FitzPeter's next account totaled 17s 10d for assarts, which he paid in full.⁵²³ Last, he reported an account of assarts and other infractions that totaled £6 11s 6d. He paid £6 2s 3d, leaving

⁵¹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 236.

⁵¹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 236.

⁵²⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 3.

⁵²¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 4.

⁵²²Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 4.

⁵²³Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 5.

9s 3d outstanding.⁵²⁴ Then, reporting on the same account and same debt, Geoffrey FitzPeter paid the crown another 9s 3d, clearing the account.⁵²⁵ Also in Northamptonshire, William de Peissi reported his own account of 3s 4d for assarts, which he paid in full.⁵²⁶

Otto FitzWilliam, sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, reported an account of £6 13s 10d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Essex in 1186. He paid 13s, leaving a £6 10d debt to the crown.⁵²⁷

The sheriff of Buckingham and Bedfordshire, William Ruffus, reported four accounts to the Exchequer concerning assarts in 1186. His first reported account totaled 14s 4d for assarts, waste and pleas of the forest, which had been assessed in Bedfordshire by Thomas FitzBernard. William paid nothing, but presented a pardon extended to the abbot of Waltham of 6s 8d. This left the account with an outstanding balance of 7s 8d.⁵²⁸ Then, reporting on the same account and same debt of 7s 8d, William Ruffus cited another pardon of 1s extended to the Knight's Templar. This reduced the debt to 6s 8d.⁵²⁹ Next he reported a debt of 6s 9d assessed on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest "by the same Thomas" in Buckinghamshire.⁵³⁰ His next account totaled £4 17s for assarts and related infractions in the

⁵²⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 5.

⁵²⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 5.

⁵²⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 5.

⁵²⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 13.

⁵²⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 23.

⁵²⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 23.

⁵³⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 23.

forest of Buckinghamshire. He paid £3 5s to the treasury, leaving a debt of £1 12s.⁵³¹

Finally, he reported an account of £2 13s 3d for assarts and related infractions in

Buckinghamshire forest. He paid the crown 7s 6d, leaving a debt of £2 5s 9d.⁵³²

Sheriff of Hereford in Wales Ralph de Arden reported two accounts connected with assarting in 1186. The first account totaled 10s for assarts and other forest offenses levied through Thomas FitzBernard. He paid 3s 4d, leaving a debt of 6s 8d.⁵³³ The second account was a debt of £2 17s 1d for assarts.⁵³⁴

Nicholas FitzRobert, sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, reported one debt of £1 9s 6d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied in Huntingdonshire by Thomas FitzBernard.⁵³⁵ In a second account, he reported 9s 6d levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Huntingdon by Geoffrey FitzPeter. He paid 6s 6d of this account, leaving a debt to the Exchequer of 3s.⁵³⁶ Finally, in the account of the sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, the bishop of Lincoln reported a debt of £1 15s 3d for assarts in Spaldewich and Buggenden.⁵³⁷

Robert Marmion, sheriff of Worcestershire, reported three accounts in 1186. The first

⁵³¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 27.

⁵³²Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 27.

⁵³³Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 31.

⁵³⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 31.

⁵³⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 33.

⁵³⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 35.

⁵³⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 35.

was a debt for £24 9s 6d assessed on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. The a second account totaled £8 8s 10d for assarts, waste, and related offenses in the forest of Worcestershire. He paid the treasury 6s 8d, leaving a balance of £8 2s 2d.⁵³⁸ The third account was another debt of £23 15s 6d, levied on assarts.⁵³⁹ Finally, in Worcestershire's account for that year the abbot of Pershore reported a debt of £1 for assarts.⁵⁴⁰

Sheriff of Berkshire Hugo de St. Germanus reported an account of £4 for assarts and related infractions. He paid £1, leaving a debt to the treasury of £3.⁵⁴¹ In a second account he reported a debt of £3 4s for assarts and related forest crimes assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.⁵⁴² The third account from Berkshire was another debt for assarts and related infractions levied by Thomas FitzBernard that totaled £3 7s 4d.⁵⁴³

Sheriff of Staffordshire, Thomas Noel, reported a debt in 1186 of £1 1s for assarts and related forest offenses assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.⁵⁴⁴ William Malduit, chamberlain and sheriff of Rutland, reported a debt of £3 5s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.⁵⁴⁵ Ranulf de Glanville, sheriff of Yorkshire, reported a debt of £1 1s 4d for assarts, waste, and

⁵³⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 38.

⁵³⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 39.

⁵⁴⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 39.

⁵⁴¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 43.

⁵⁴²Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 43.

⁵⁴³Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 44.

⁵⁴⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 146.

⁵⁴⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 82.

pleas of the forest assessed by Alan de Neville and Robert Mantel.⁵⁴⁶

In Oxfordshire, Sheriff Alan de Furnell reported on three accounts. The first was a debt of £7 6s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.⁵⁴⁷ The second was a debt of £2 17s 10d for assarts and related crimes.⁵⁴⁸ Finally, he reported an account with totaled £1 17s 6d for assarts and related infractions. He paid 5s, leaving a debt of £1 2s 6d.⁵⁴⁹

William FitzStephen, sheriff of Gloucestershire, reported an account of £8 11s for assarts assessed in conjunction with Robert de Hasley and his associates. He paid nothing on the account, but reported a pardon of £3 extended to the monks of St. James of Bristol. This left the account with an outstanding balance of £5 11s.⁵⁵⁰

Sheriff of Warwick and Leicestershire Michael Belet reported three assart-related accounts in 1186. The first totaled £1 9s for assarts, and he paid this account in full.⁵⁵¹ The second account totaled 5s levied on assarts and related crimes perpetrated in Leicestershire. He paid 4s, leaving 12d outstanding.⁵⁵² The final account totaled 13s for assarts, which he paid in full.⁵⁵³

⁵⁴⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 96.

⁵⁴⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 112.

⁵⁴⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 112.

⁵⁴⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 114.

⁵⁵⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 120.

⁵⁵¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 126.

⁵⁵²Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 131.

⁵⁵³Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 131.

Hugo Bardulf, sheriff of Cornwall, reported an account of 20s for assarts and other pleas. He paid the account in full.⁵⁵⁴ Roger FitzRenfrid reported a debt of £1 9s 6d for assarts and related infractions during his tenure as sheriff of Sussex.⁵⁵⁵

In Wiltshire, Sheriff Robert Malduit reported a debt of 18s for assarts and related pleas in 1186.⁵⁵⁶ In a second account he reported having assessed £7 14s 11d on assarts and related offenses. He paid the treasury 17s 5d, leaving a debt of £6 17s 6d.⁵⁵⁷ The monks of Farleigh reported an account of £1 17s 6d for assarts in Heuedlingehill. The monks paid nothing out right, but reported a grant they had received for £1 20s, leaving them a debt of 7s 6d.⁵⁵⁸

Geoffrey FitzAze, sheriff of Southamptonshire reported on four accounts in 1186. His first account was a debt of 7s 9d for assarts and related infractions.⁵⁵⁹ Next was another debt on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest of £7 9d.⁵⁶⁰ The third account he reported totaled £7 11s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Thomas FitzBernard. Geoffrey paid the crown £5 12s 2d, leaving a debt of £1 18s 10d.⁵⁶¹ Geoffrey FitzAze's final

⁵⁵⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 148.

⁵⁵⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 182.

⁵⁵⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 160.

⁵⁵⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 163.

⁵⁵⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 162.

⁵⁵⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 169.

⁵⁶⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 169.

⁵⁶¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 170.

account totaled £4 3s 1d. He paid the Exchequer £1 3d, and reported a pardon extended to the church of Amesbury of 6s. This left him an outstanding debt of £2 16s 10d.⁵⁶²

Sheriff Henry de Cornhill of Surrey reported three debts assessed on assarts, waste, and other pleas by Thomas FitzBernard. Two totaled 10s. The third was a larger sum of £3 12s.⁵⁶³

At the end of the crown's 1186 fiscal year, officials reported a total of £89 1s 2s for active accounts of assarts and related land clearance offenses. They paid the treasury £159 3s 7d and reported that the crown had issued pardons that totaled £5 3s 8d. This left an outstanding balance in inactive accounts and debt to the Exchequer of £160 8s 10d.

1187

In 1187, William Ruffus, sheriff of Buckingham and Bedfordshire, reported five accounts for assarts and related pleas. The first account of William Ruffus was a debt of 6s 8d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied in Bedfordshire by Thomas FitzBernard.⁵⁶⁴ The next account totaled 6s 9d for assart, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed in Buckinghamshire "by the same Thomas." He paid 5s, leaving a debt to the treasury of £1 11s.⁵⁶⁵ In William's third account, he reported a sum of £1 12s for assarts and related pleas

⁵⁶²Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 172.

⁵⁶³Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 195.

⁵⁶⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 33.

⁵⁶⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 33.

levied in Buckinghamshire. He paid 4s 6d, leaving a debt to the crown of £1 7s 6d.⁵⁶⁶ Next he reported another debt for assarts and related infractions in Buckinghamshire of £2 5s 9d.⁵⁶⁷ In his last account of the year, William Ruffus rendered an account of £8 13s 6d. He paid the crown £3 17s 8d. This left the account with an outstanding balance of £4 15s 10d.⁵⁶⁸

Alan de Furnell, sheriff of Oxfordshire, reported three debts in 1187. The first debt was for £7 6s on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.⁵⁶⁹ The second totaled £2 17s 10d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.⁵⁷⁰ The final report was for a debt of £1 12s 6d.⁵⁷¹

Hugo Pantulf reported two accounts as sheriff of Shropshire. The first account was a debt of £2 11s 5d for assarts and waste in the forest of Shropshire.⁵⁷² Next, he rendered an account of £12 10s 6d for assarts. He paid £7 14s 1d on this account, leaving a debt to the treasury of £4 16s 6d.⁵⁷³

Sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire Nicholas FitzRobert reported three debts concerning assarts and related activities. The first debt totaled £1 9s 6d for assarts, waste,

⁵⁶⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 35.

⁵⁶⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 35.

⁵⁶⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 37.

⁵⁶⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 47.

⁵⁷⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 47.

⁵⁷¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 48.

⁵⁷²Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 64.

⁵⁷³Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 66.

and pleas of the forest assessed in Huntingdonshire by Thomas FitzBernard.⁵⁷⁴ The second debt was for 3s, also on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Geoffrey FitzPeter.⁵⁷⁵ Third, he reported a debt of 11s 8d for assarts and waste.⁵⁷⁶ In a fourth account under Cambridge and Huntingdonshire's report, the bishop of Lincoln reported a debt of £1 15s for assarts in Spaldewich and Buggenden.⁵⁷⁷

Ranulf de Glanville, serving as sheriff of Yorkshire, reported a debt of £1 1s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. The fees had been assessed in his jurisdiction by Alan de Neville and Robert Mantel.⁵⁷⁸ Chamberlain and sheriff of Rutland William Malduit reported a debt of £3 5s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.⁵⁷⁹

In Northamptonshire, Sheriff FitzPeter rendered an account of 15s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, assessed in his jurisdiction by Alan de Neville. He paid 3s 6d, leaving a debt of 11s 6d.⁵⁸⁰ His second account was a debt of £24 2s 9d for assarts and waste.⁵⁸¹ Finally, he reported a debt of £1 4s 4d for assarts and related offenses levied by Thomas

⁵⁷⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 78.

⁵⁷⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 79.

⁵⁷⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 79.

⁵⁷⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 79.

⁵⁷⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 88.

⁵⁷⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 112.

⁵⁸⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 100.

⁵⁸¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 101.

FitzBernard.⁵⁸²

Roger FitzRenfrid, sheriff of Sussex, reported an account of £1 9s 6d for assarts and related offenses. He paid 9s 6d, leaving a debt of £1.⁵⁸³

In Warwick and Leicestershire, Sheriff Michael Belet reported an account of £1 9s for assarts, which he paid in full.⁵⁸⁴ His second account was a debt of 1s for assarts and related offenses.⁵⁸⁵ Third, Michael Belet reported an account of £7 19s for assarts and related infractions assessed in Leicestershire. He paid this account in full.⁵⁸⁶

Otto FitzWilliam, sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, reported an account of £6 10d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Essex. He paid 7s to the treasury, leaving a debt of £5 13s 10d.⁵⁸⁷

In Hereford in Wales, Sheriff Ralph de Arden reported a debt of 6s 8d for assarts and related pleas levied by Thomas FitzBernard.⁵⁸⁸ In a second account, he reported a debt of £2 17s 1d for assarts.⁵⁸⁹ His third account totaled £4 3d for assarts. He paid £1 10s 6d, leaving a

⁵⁸²Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 101.

⁵⁸³Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 108.

⁵⁸⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 115.

⁵⁸⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 117.

⁵⁸⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 119.

⁵⁸⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 123.

⁵⁸⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 131.

⁵⁸⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 132.

debt to the crown of £2 9s 9d.⁵⁹⁰

In Gloucestershire, Sheriff William FitzStephen reported one account of £5 11s assessed on assarts. He paid the Exchequer 6s 6d, and reported a pardon granted to Robert FitzUrban of 10s. This left the account in debt to the treasury £4 14s 6d.⁵⁹¹ In a second account he reported £11 13s assessed on assarts, of which he paid £3 14s. He reported another pardon extended to Robert FitzUrban for 7s 6d. This left a debt of £7 11s 6d.⁵⁹²

Thomas Noel, serving as sheriff of Staffordshire, reported a debt of £1 1s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.⁵⁹³ He rendered a second account of £4 2s 3d for assarts, of which he paid £2 9d. This left a debt to the treasury of £2 1s 6d.⁵⁹⁴

Jacob de Hulmo of Nottingham and Derbyshire reported an account of £2 for assarts in 1187. He paid the crown 15s, leaving £1 5s in debt.⁵⁹⁵

Robert Malduit, sheriff of Wiltshire reported on two accounts. The first was a debt of 18s for assarts and related offenses.⁵⁹⁶ Second he reported an account of £5 1s 8d for assarts

⁵⁹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 133.

⁵⁹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 137.

⁵⁹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 140.

⁵⁹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 149.

⁵⁹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 151.

⁵⁹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 168.

⁵⁹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 174.

and related offenses. He paid £2 4s, leaving a debt to the treasury of £3 1s 4d.⁵⁹⁷

In Berkshire, Sheriff Robert FitzRenfrid reported an account of £3 for assarts and related offenses. He paid half the amount due, leaving a debt to the treasury of £1 10s.⁵⁹⁸

Second he reported an account in debt £3 4s for assarts and related infractions assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.⁵⁹⁹ His third account was a debt of £3 7s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, also levied by Thomas FitzBernard.⁶⁰⁰

Geoffrey FitzAze reported on four accounts as sheriff of Southamptonshire in 1187. His first account totaled £7 15s 2d for assarts and related offenses in Hampshire. He paid £1, leaving £6 15s 2d outstanding.⁶⁰¹ Second he reported a debt of £7 9s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Southamptonshire.⁶⁰² Next he reported an account in debt £1 18s 10d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed in Hampshire by Thomas FitzBernard.⁶⁰³ Geoffrey FitzAze's final account totaled £2 16s 10d for assarts and related infractions in Hampshire. He paid 19s to the treasury, leaving a debt of £1 17s 10d.⁶⁰⁴

Henry de Cornhill, sheriff of Surrey reported three debts assessed on assarts and

⁵⁹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 176.

⁵⁹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 189.

⁵⁹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 189.

⁶⁰⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 190.

⁶⁰¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 196.

⁶⁰²Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 196.

⁶⁰³Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 197.

⁶⁰⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 197.

related infractions by Thomas FitzBernard. Like the year before, the first two were debts of 10s each assessed on assarts and waste.⁶⁰⁵ The third debt totaled £3 12s for assarts and related forest offenses.⁶⁰⁶

Sheriff of Worcestershire, Robert Marmion reported several accounts in 1187. The first totaled £24 9s 6d. He paid 6s 8d of the amount due, leaving a debt to the crown of £24 2s 10d.⁶⁰⁷ The second account reported on assarts and related offenses was in debt £8 2s 2d.⁶⁰⁸ Next he reported a debt of £23 15s 6d for assarts.⁶⁰⁹ Robert's last account totaled £26 13s 11d, of which he paid the treasury £7 13s. This left him a debt to the Exchequer of 19 11d.⁶¹⁰ Recorded with the accounts of Worcestershire, the abbot of Pershore reported an account of £1 for assarts, which he paid in full.⁶¹¹

At Michaelmas 1187, royal officials recorded accounts levied on assarts and related offenses that totaled £138 19s 8d. The crown issued pardons that totaled a paltry 17s 6d, and officials paid the treasury £45 5s. This left an amount in debt and inactive accounts that totaled £201 2s 7d.

⁶⁰⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 212.

⁶⁰⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 212.

⁶⁰⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 216.

⁶⁰⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 216.

⁶⁰⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 217.

⁶¹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 219.

⁶¹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 217.

Hugo Bardulf, sheriff of Wiltshire, reported on three assart-related accounts in 1188. The first was a debt of 18s for assarts and related items.⁶¹² Next he reported another debt levied by Alan de Neville on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest of 5s 8d.⁶¹³ Finally he rendered an account of £3 1s 4d for assarts and related forest infractions. He paid £1 14s 2d, leaving a debt to the crown of £1 7s 2d.⁶¹⁴

In Berkshire, Roger FitzRenfrid reported an account of £1 10s for assarts and related forest offenses in 1188. He paid the Exchequer £1 3s 4d, leaving a debt to the crown of 6s 8d.⁶¹⁵ The second account he reported was in debt £3 4s for assarts and related offenses assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.⁶¹⁶

Robert LaMara, sheriff of Oxfordshire, made the final report concerning assarts in the pipe rolls of Henry II. He rendered a debt of £1 12s 6d outstanding for assarts and related forest offenses.⁶¹⁷

The last Michaelmas Exchequer meeting of Henry II's reign in 1188 found sheriffs reporting accounts for assarts, waste, and related forest offenses that totaled only £4 11s 4d. Officials paid the Exchequer only £2 17s 6d. The crown issued no pardons for assarting and

⁶¹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 137.

⁶¹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 137.

⁶¹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 138.

⁶¹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 143.

⁶¹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 143.

⁶¹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 152.

related activities that year. The outstanding balance on inactive accounts and debt for Henry's reign was only £8 4s, and this is one of the few examples of any inconsistency in the Exchequer's efficiency. Large outstanding balances had normally carried over.

The 1180s witnessed a continued increase in the efficiency and reach of royal government. Forest officials continued to pursue their duties with vigor, and in this decade one especially notices the efforts of Thomas FitzBernard. Sheriffs and justices in eyre hounded out more offenses than ever, and uncovered more instances of illegal land clearance, but they seem to have been smaller offenses. Officials paid the Exchequer a total of £965 8s 3d for assarts and related offenses, while they had paid £1986 12s 8d throughout the previous decade, a decrease of over £1000. However, during the 1170s royal pardons totaled £613 15s 1d, but in the 1180s they totaled only £131 7s 8d. Perhaps these figures are an indication that royal officials were getting the crown's affairs in order. Old offenses had been discovered, recorded, and cleared one way or another during the 1170s, and in the following decade the process continued with less tolerance.

CONCLUSION

What happened to 1187's outstanding balance of £201 2s 7d when Michaelmas 1188 rolled around? Nothing indicates that it had been paid off or that the crown had issued pardons. Is it possible that the debt was just forgotten in light of the events of the late 1180s that had probably so distracted the weary king? If so, this would indicate a serious breakdown in the Exchequer, which seems unlikely. There is be no way to account for this lapse in bookkeeping. All other evidence in this study upholds the Exchequer's reputation and supports the notion that the Exchequer never forgot anything. Indeed the point of creating an institution like the Exchequer was to ensure that debts did not become forgotten and go unpaid after a few years of the debtor stalling, and the number of royal pardons issued to help clear Exchequer accounts indicates that clearing one's debt to the crown was not an informal matter. The Exchequer is among the earliest vestiges of a government bureaucracy in England. It existed precisely because the king did not personally have time to manage such tedious procedures as overseeing the collection and accounting of fines and farms that made up his royal revenue. That it would be so heavily affected by the far flung personal problems of a king who was rarely present on the island anyway seems a dubious notion.

The evidence presented in the Pipe Rolls reveals an active and growing government in England between 1154 and 1189. Throughout the period, government officials clearly matured in their capacity to perform their duties, and it is obvious from the yearly accounts that the crown received a sizeable revenue from assarts and related illegal land clearance. The crown's awareness of and willingness to tolerate illegal land clearance were clearly greater than historians have previously assumed, based on evidence from charters.

PART II:
COUNTIES AND PARDONS

INTRODUCTION

The chronological examination of the assart data in the Pipe Rolls revealed important information about the operation of the Exchequer, as well as the increasing value the crown probably saw in assessing fines on activities like assarting. But it is possible to sort the data in other ways to gain even more insight into what was happening both in the forests and in the government of England in the twelfth century. For Part II, the data was sorted by geographic region, namely by county, and sorted by pardons. (An introduction to the data on pardons will be given at the beginning of that chapter.)

Hope of finding patterns not readily apparent in the chronological examination led to sorting the data by shire (see APPENDIX B). This turned out to be a valuable exercise. The counties are arranged alphabetically for this discussion, out of the fear that another arrangement might give a false impression of the importance of the activity in a particular county. Note that the counties with the most activity are the counties closest to London and Winchester, the seats of royal power. By coincidence, these areas were heavily forested.¹ Royal forests existed all over England and considerable land clearance no doubt occurred all over, but being further from justice meant less judicial presence to levy fines. Also observe how the accounts develop over time. Frequently, a sheriff's accounts carried forward from the previous year, and many accounts took years to pay off. The chronological discussion gives the false impression that each year a great deal of new assarting activity occurred. The county narratives demonstrate clearly when new accounts appear or when accounts simply disappear.

¹Warren, *Henry II*, 392.

BERKSHIRE THROUGH DORSET AND SOMERSETSHIRE**Berkshire 1171-1187**

When surveying the pipe roll entries that concern assarting in the county of Berkshire, one finds an astonishing number of entries. Berkshire has by far the largest number of entries, yet each entry does not in of itself indicate an incident of assarting. Like any county, Berkshire's entries are made up of a variety of incidents, including a great many pardons, as well as assarts.

The early accounts of assarting fines in Berkshire are the story of assarts on the lands of Robert de Inglesham. He reported the first recorded account of assarting in 1167. That year he reported to the Exchequer that he owed £13 6s 8d for fines levied on 10 acres of assarts in Wicha, a tidy sum for any private account. He paid the treasury 10s, reducing his debt to £12 16s 8d.² Robert reported to the Exchequer in 1168 that he owed £12 16s 8d to the crown for fines levied on assarts on ten acres in Wicha.³ In 1169, he again reported owing £12 16s 8d to the Exchequer for fines on assarts in Wicha. At that time, he paid the crown 13s 3d, slowly reducing his debt to £12 3s 5d.⁴ In 1170, Robert de Inglesham reported a debt of £12 3s 5d, but he paid the crown nothing.⁵ Robert reported in 1171 that he owed £12 3s 5d for assarts. He paid £1 6s 8d, leaving a debt to the crown of £10 16s 9d.

²Pipe Rolls, vol. 11, 8.

³Pipe Rolls, vol. 12, 201.

⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 13, 79.

⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 71.

A second account reported for 1171 came from Langley lord de Sanford, who cited a debt of 6s 8d for assarts.⁶ Finally, a third entry for Berkshire that year came from its sheriff, Hugo de Bokeland, who reported owing accounts totaling £21 13s 6d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. The sheriff paid the treasury £3 1s 6d, leaving a debt of £18 12s.⁷

Robert de Inglesham reported that he owed the crown £10 16s 9d for fines on assarts in Wicha in 1172. He paid the treasury £1 6s 8d as part of the Nottingham and Derbyshire account, reducing his debt to £9 10s 1d.⁸ While he paid under the sheriff of Nottingham and Derbyshire's farm, his account clearly contributed to his Berkshire debt because in 1173, Robert de Inglesham reported a debt of £9 10s 1d for assarts and related offenses, just as if he had paid the sheriff of Berkshire. That year he paid £1 6s 8d, leaving a debt of £8 3s 5d.⁹

Sheriff Hugo de Bokeland reported an account totaling £15 5s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid £1 6s 8d and reported a pardon extended to the Abbot of Reading of £1 16s 8d, leaving the county in debt to the crown £12 2s.¹⁰

In 1174 Robert de Inglesham again made a private report, carrying forth his debt of £8 3s 5d from the previous year. He paid £1 6s 8d, leaving a debt of £6 16s 9d.¹¹ Sheriff Hugo de Bokeland reported two accounts in 1174. The first totaled £12 2s for assarts, waste, and

⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 90.

⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 91.

⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 14.

⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 64.

¹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 65.

¹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 113.

pleas of the forest carried forth from the previous year. He paid £1 6s 8d, reducing the debt to £10 15s 4d.¹² The second account was a debt of £100 6s 1d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, assessed by Alan de Neville and his associates, including Robert Mantel and William FitzRalph.¹³

The following year, Hugo de Bokeland reported on the same two accounts. On the first, which totaled £10 15s 4d, he paid £1 10s, reducing his debt to £9 5s 4d.¹⁴ The second account carried forth as a total of £100 6s 1d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. Hugo paid the treasury £60 15s 8d, and reported numerous pardons extended by the crown to various offenders. Count William de Mandeville received pardons of £1 14s and £3 5s. William of London received a pardon of £1 13s, and William of Verdun received a pardon of 13s 4d. Richard de Camville received a pardon of £2, and William of Lanval was pardon 17s 4d. Richard de Lucy received a pardon of £4 14s 6d. Several monastic houses benefitted from the pardons as well. The monastery of Fonte Ebrold received a pardon of £1 12s, the monastery de Casa was pardoned 4s, the monks of Reading received a pardon of £13 1s 4d, and the monks of Stratford received a pardon of 13s 4d. In the end, Sheriff Hugo de Bokeland remained in debt to the crown £9 1s 7d.¹⁵

In 1176, Robert de Inglesham again made a report. He reported an account of £5 10s 1d for assarts. Whether this represents new activity or a part of his old activity is unclear. He

¹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 113.

¹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 115.

¹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 134.

¹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 135.

could have made a payment in 1175 that went unrecorded, but the likelihood of the Exchequer making such an error seems remote. He paid £1 6s 8d, leaving a debt of £4 3s 5d.¹⁶ Sheriff Hugo de Bokeland reported an account of £9 5s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. Again, this is a sum not obviously brought forth from the previous year. Hugo paid 6s 8d and reported a pardon granted to Reginald de Curtenai of 6s 8d. This left an outstanding debt to the crown of £8 12s.¹⁷ Next, reporting on the same account and same debt of £8 12s, Hugo de Bokeland paid 13s 4d to the treasury, further reducing the debt to £7 18s 8d.¹⁸

The following year, Robert de Inglesham reported his debt of £4 3s 5d, carried forth from the previous year. He paid £1 6s 8d, reducing his debt to £3 6s 9d.¹⁹ The year 1177 brought a new sheriff, named Hugo de St. Germanus, to Berkshire. Hugo de St. Germanus reported two accounts related to assarts his first year in Berkshire. The first account totaled £7 18s 8d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. Hugo paid the treasury 12s and reported a pardon of 6s 8d extended to the Knights Templar. This left the first account in debt £7.²⁰ The second account totaled £52 15s 8d for assarts and related offenses assessed by Thomas FitzBernard in the forests of Berkshire. The sheriff paid £22 12s 10d and reported multiple pardons to the Exchequer clerks. The abbot of Reading received a pardon of £7 19s.

¹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 131.

¹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 132.

¹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 132.

¹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 47.

²⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 47.

William of London was pardoned 18s. The prioress of Etton received a pardon of £2 8s 4d. Gerard de Canville received a pardon of 8s, and the crown granted Reginald de Curtenai a pardon of 6s. Count William de Mandeville received pardons of £1 5s and £2 7s 6d. The Knights Templar received a pardon of £1 13s. Finally Richard de Lucy received pardons of £5 9s 6d and £2 10s. In all, this left the sheriff of Berkshire in debt to the treasury £4 18s 6d.²¹

Beginning in 1178, the number of pardons extended to those committing assarts and assart-related offenses in Berkshire were curtailed dramatically. That year, Robert de Inglesham reported an account of £2 16s 9d for assarts. He paid the treasury £1 6s 8d, reducing his debt to £1 10s 1d.²² The sheriff of Berkshire, still Hugo de St. Germanus, reported a debt of £7 for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, and a debt of £4 18s 6d for assarts and related offenses assessed by Thomas FitzBernard, each which had been held over from the previous year, and a third debt of 13s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Alan de Neville. Hugo's fourth account totaled £11 3s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid the Exchequer £7 10s 8d, reducing the debt to £3 12s 8d.²³

The next year, Robert de Inglesham reported an account of £1 10s 1d for assarts. He paid £1 6s 8d, leaving a debt to the crown of 3s 5d.²⁴ In 1179 the sheriff of Berkshire reported on four accounts concerning assarts, all of which carried over from the previous

²¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 48.

²²Pipe rolls, vol. 27, 103.

²³Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 103.

²⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 85.

year. The first two were debts of £7 and 13s 4d. The third totaled £4 18s 6d for assarts levied by Thomas FitzBernard. Hugo paid 13s 6d, reducing the debt to £4 15s. The fourth account totaled £3 12s 8d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. Hugo paid the crown 6s 8d, leaving a debt of £3 6s.²⁵

In 1180, Robert de Inglesham reported his account of 3s 5d for assarts and related offenses, carried forth from the previous year. He paid his account in full, clearing the debt and leaving him to disappear from the annals of assarting in the pipe rolls.²⁶ Sheriff Hugo de St. Germanus was not to disappear so quickly, however. In 1180 he reported five assart-related accounts for Berkshire. The first was a running debt of £7 carried forth from the previous year. Next was an account also brought forth an account levied by Alan de Neville totaling 13s 4d, which he paid in full. Third he reported a debt of £4 5s for fines assessed by Thomas FitzBernard, of which he paid 2s, reducing his debt to £4 3s. Carrying forth his debt of £3 6 for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Thomas FitzBernard. Hugo paid 10s, leaving himself a debt of £2 16s.²⁷ Finally, Hugo de St. Germanus reported a debt of £27 5s 10d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.²⁸

The next year, Hugo de St. Germanus again reported several accounts concerning assarts, all of which had been carried over from the previous year.. The first account totaled £7. Hugo paid 13s 4d, leaving a debt of £6 6s 8d. The next account totaled £4 3s, of which

²⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 86.

²⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 39.

²⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 39.

²⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 41.

he paid 5s. This left him a debt to the crown of £3 18s. The third account totaled £2 16s for assarts and waste in the forest of Berkshire assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. The sheriff paid £1 19s 4d, reducing his debt to 16s 8d.²⁹ Finally, the last account he reported totaled £27 5s 10d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Thomas FitzBernard. Hugo paid the treasury £20 4s 4d and reported a pardon on the account of 3s. This left him a debt of £6 18s 6d.³⁰

Hugo de St. Germanus reported four accounts in 1182. The first totaled £6 6s 8d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid 13s 4d, leaving a debt to the treasury of £5 13s 4d. Second he reported an account of £3 18s for assarts and related offenses levied by Thomas FitzBernard. Hugo paid 5s, reducing the debt to £3 13s.³¹ The third account recorded was a debt of 16s 8d for assarts and waste assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.³² This sum was doubtless carried over from the previous year's account. The fourth account for 1182 was also carried over from the previous year. Hugo reported an account for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed through Thomas FitzBernard totaling £6 18s 6d, of which he paid the treasury £3 3s 2d and reported a pardon extended to the monks of Amesbury of 2s. This left a debt of £3 13s 4d.³³

In 1183, Hugo de St. Germanus carried forth his previous accounts, with no indication

²⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 138.

³⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 140.

³¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 104.

³²Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 105.

³³Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 106.

of any new activity. The first account recorded totaled £5 13s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid 13s 4d, leaving a debt of £5. The second account totaled £3 13s assessed on assarts and related offenses by Thomas FitzBernard. Hugo paid 9s, leaving a debt of £3 4s. Third was the account for assarts and waste levied by Thomas FitzBernard that totaled 16s 8d. Hugo paid 11s 8d, reducing the debt to 5s.³⁴ The last account totaled £3 13s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Thomas FitzBernard, of which the sheriff paid 3s 6d, leaving a debt to the Exchequer of £3 9s 10d.³⁵

Hugo de St. Germanus reported on only three of these accounts in 1184. The first account recorded was that with the sum of £5 for assarts and related offenses assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.. Hugo paid 13s 4d, reducing the debt to £4 6s 8d. The second and third accounts he entered as debts of £3 4s and 5s.³⁶

The next year, Hugo reported an account of £4 6s 8d for assarts and related crimes, which had been carried forth. He paid 6s 8d, leaving a debt to the crown of £4. A second account, also carried forth, was reported as a debt of £3 4s. The third account, carried forth from two years prior, totaled £3 9s 10d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Thomas FitzBernard. Hugo paid the Exchequer 2s 6d, leaving a debt of £3 7s 4d.³⁷

In 1186, Hugo carried forth the three accounts from the previous year. His first account totaled £4, of which he paid £1, reducing the debt to £3. The second and third

³⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 135.

³⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 136.

³⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 53.

³⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 22.

accounts he reported as debts of £3 4s for assarts and related offenses and £3 7s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.³⁸ All of the accounts had at one time or another been specifically linked to Thomas FitzBernard's activities, although that notation does not necessarily carry over from year to year.

A new sheriff, Roger FitzRenfrid, appears in Berkshire's rolls for 1187. Like his predecessor, he carried forth the account of £3 for assarts and related activities. Roger paid £1 10s, reducing the debt to £1 10s. He also reported debts on this other two accounts of £3 4s and £3 7s 4d.³⁹

The last pipe roll of Henry II's reign was for Michaelmas 1188, and in that roll Roger FitzRenfrid reported two accounts concerning assarts which he carried forth from the previous year. The first account totaled £1 10s for assarts and related offenses. Roger paid £1 3s 4d, reducing the debt to 6s 8d. The second report was for a debt of £3 4s for assarts and related crimes reported by Thomas FitzBernard.⁴⁰

Throughout the years of Henry II's reign in which officials reported fines and rents levied on assarts in Berkshire, the sheriffs of Berkshire paid the royal treasury £146 11s 8d. The crown granted offenders in Berkshire pardons worth £63 7s 2d.

Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire 1164-1187

The record of assarting and illegal land clearance in the shires of Buckingham and

³⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 43-44.

³⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 189-190.

⁴⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 38, 143.

Bedford is an active one. Between 1164 and 1187 around fifty citations concerning assarting and related crimes, as well as pardons for those crimes, appear in the pipe rolls. The two shires were administered as a unit throughout the period.

In 1164, Milo Neirenuit, apparently a private individual, reported a debt of 6s 8d for assarts in the accounts of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, although the report does not indicate which in shire the actual offenses took place. The next year, the same Milo Neirenuit rendered an account of 6s 8d, which he paid in full.⁴¹ For the next five years, no activity concerning assarting is recorded in the entries of the pipe rolls.

David the Archdeacon and William FitzRichard, serving jointly as sheriff of the shires, reported two accounts concerning assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in 1170. The first account totaled £31 4s 3d for offenses in the forest in Buckinghamshire. The sheriffs paid £25 8s 1d, and reported that a pardon of £2 18s 4d had been extended to William Malduit, the king's chamberlain. This left a debt to the crown of £2 17s 10d. The second account totaled £21 3s 6d for offenses in the forest of Bedfordshire. They paid £10 5s 10d, and reported a pardon of £1 10s 8d on the account granted to Henry FitzGerald, also listed as a chamberlain, leaving a debt to the treasury of £9 7s.⁴²

The next year David and William rendered only one account of £9 7s, obviously carried over from the previous year. They paid £4 6s 8d, leaving a debt of £5 4d.⁴³ This is the account they rendered in 1172, when they reported a pardon granted to the Knights

⁴¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 7, 30; vol. 8, 22.

⁴²Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 30.

⁴³Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 60.

Templar of £3 4d for their offenses in the forest of Bedford, reducing the debt to £2.⁴⁴ In 1173 they reported only their £2 debt to the Exchequer.⁴⁵

County management changed hands in 1174, when William FitzRichard became sheriff of the two counties. For two years, he carried the £2 debt, and in 1176 he made no report.⁴⁶

Richard FitzWilliam made two reports concerning assarts and illegal land clearance in 1177. The first report totaled £1 for assarts and waste, which he paid in full.⁴⁷ The second account, levied on assarts and related offenses, totaled £15 3s 6d. The county paid £8 6s, and reported a pardon extended to the Knights Templar of £4 10s. This left FitzWilliam with a debt to the treasury of £2 7s 6d.⁴⁸

The next year Richard FitzWilliam reported on two accounts concerning assarting in Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire. The first was the account of £2 7s 6d, carried over from the previous year. He paid nothing on it, but reported a further pardon of 7s, reducing the balance to £2 6d. The sum of the second account was £27 4s 6d levied on assarts and waste in the forest of Buckinghamshire. The sheriff paid £20 18s 6d, leaving £6 6s outstanding. Then, reporting on the same account and same debt, FitzWilliam reported a pardon of 13s 4d

⁴⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 51.

⁴⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 74.

⁴⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 84, vol. 22, 51.

⁴⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 158.

⁴⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 126.

extended to Reginald de Curtenai, reducing the debt to £5 12s 8d.⁴⁹ This debt carried over to 1179's account.⁵⁰

In 1180 the sheriff again changed in Buckingham and Bedfordshire. William Ruffus took the county's reigns and that year reported four accounts concerning assarting and related activities. The first account recorded was a debt of 6d for assarts and related infractions of the forest.⁵¹ The second account totaled £5 12s 8d for assarts and waste assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid 6s 8d to the treasury, leaving a debt of £5 6s.⁵² The third and fourth accounts, levied by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts and related forest offenses, were debts of £25 13s 4d and £27 10s 2d, respectively.⁵³

The four accounts from 1180 carried over to 1181. William Ruffus again reported a debt of 6s, but the other debts were brought forth as accounts toward which he paid something. On the account of £5 6s for assarts and waste in the forest of Buckinghamshire he paid 4s.⁵⁴ On the third account of £25 13s 4d he paid £8 17s 10d, leaving a debt of £16 15s 6d. The fourth account totaled £27 10s 2d, of which he paid £23 15s, leaving a debt of £3 15s 2d.⁵⁵

⁴⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 96.

⁵⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 76.

⁵¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 125.

⁵²Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 126.

⁵³Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 130.

⁵⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 124.

⁵⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 127.

William Ruffus carried for the debt of 6s again in 1182, although in this case the Exchequer clerk noted that the debt was for offences in Bedfordshire. The next account brought forth carried a balance of £5 2s for assarts and waste assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. Ruffus paid £4 18s, leaving a debt recorded in the pipe rolls as 3s 4d, which leaves the account not only in debt but out of balance.⁵⁶ The third account he reported totaled £1 19s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Thomas FitzBernard in Bedfordshire. William paid £1 4 6d, leaving a balance of 14s 10d. The third account totaled £3 8s 6d for assarts and related infractions assessed by Thomas FitzBernard in Buckinghamshire. The sheriff paid £2 1s 9d, leaving a debt of £1 6s 9d.⁵⁷ All four of these balances were carried forward and reported as debts in 1183.⁵⁸

William Ruffus brought forth these accounts again in 1184. He reported the debt of 6s for offenses in Bedfordshire, and paid off in full the account of 3s 4d for assarts and waste assessed by Thomas FitzBernard in Buckinghamshire.⁵⁹ The third account totaled 14s 10d, of which he paid 6d, leaving a debt of 14s 4d on the assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest Thomas FitzBernard had assessed in Bedfordshire. The fourth account remained a debt of £1 6s 9d.⁶⁰

In 1185 William rendered the account of 6s for assarts and related offenses in

⁵⁶Pipe Roll, vol. 31, 117.

⁵⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 120.

⁵⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 76, 77, 78.

⁵⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 114.

⁶⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 115.

Bedfordshire, and reported a pardon of 6s extended to the Knights Hospitaller, leaving the account cleared.⁶¹ The debt of 14s 4d was brought forward as a debt. William rendered £1 6s 9d for the third account on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid £1, leaving a debt of 6s 9d.⁶² The sheriff rendered new accounts in 1185 as well. He reported £15 2s levied on assarts and related infractions. He paid £10 5s, leaving a debt to the Exchequer of £4 17s.⁶³ A second new account totaled £8 8s 3d levied on assarts and related forest offenses. Ruffus paid £5 2s 6d and reported a pardon of 12s 6d extended to the Knights Hospitaller, which left him a debt of £2 3s 3d. Third new account totaled £2 5s for assarts and waste. A pardon to the Knights Templar cleared the account.⁶⁴

The next year, William Ruffus rendered an account of 14s 4d carried forward from the previous year. He reported that a pardon had been extended to the abbot of Waltham of 6s 8d, leaving a debt of 7s 8d. Reporting again on the same account and same debt of 7s 8d, William Rufus cited another pardon of 1s extended to the Knight's Templar. This reduced the debt to 6s 8d.⁶⁵ The debt of 6s 9d carried forward and William paid nothing on it.⁶⁶ He reported a third account of £4 17s on assarts and related offenses which carried forward from the previous year. He paid £3 5s, leaving a debt of £1 12s. The fourth account totaled £2 13s

⁶¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 132.

⁶²Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 133.

⁶³Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 139.

⁶⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 140.

⁶⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 23.

⁶⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 23.

3d. William paid 7s 6d, leaving a debt of £2 5s 9d.⁶⁷

The final year that the sheriff of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire reported activity concerning assarts for the reign of Henry II was 1187. He reported on five accounts that year. The first account was a debt of 6s 8d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, which would appear to be new. The next account he rendered was 6s 9d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Thomas FitzBernard. William Ruffus paid the treasury 5s, leaving a debt of 1s 9d.⁶⁸ The third account carried forward totaled £1 12s, of which the sheriff paid the crown 4s 6d, leaving a debt of £1 7s 6d. The fourth account was a debt carried forward of £2 5s 9d.⁶⁹ Finally, he reported an new account of £8 13s 6d for assarts. He paid the Exchequer £3 17s 8d, leaving an outstanding balance of £4 15s 10d.⁷⁰

Between 1164 and 1187, officials in Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire paid the royal treasury £136 10s 6d. The crown pardoned offenses in the two counties that totaled £16 5s 4d.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshire 1159-1187

Early in the record of assarting, private individuals reported their debts to the Exchequer. In 1159, Richard Engaigne reported a debt of £1 6s 8d that he owed for assarts in

⁶⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 27.

⁶⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 33.

⁶⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 35.

⁷⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 37.

Huntingdon. The next year, he reported the same debt.⁷¹ In 1164, Geoffrey de Saint-Maurice reported a debt of 6s 8d for assarts in Cambridge and Huntingdonshire. The following year he reported the same account, that time presenting letters of pardon which cleared his account.⁷² Thereafter, the reporting of assarts was taken care of largely by the sheriff of the adjacent counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon, which existed as one administrative unit. Sheriff Philip de Daventry reported an account of 13s 4d for assarts in 1167. He paid this debt in full.⁷³

Sheriffs Ebrard de Beche and Warren de Bassingburn next reported an account of £22 1s 6d for assarts and waste in 1170. They paid the crown £7 5s 2d and reported that a pardon had been extended to the king of the Scots (*Regi Scottie*) for £4 13s 4d. This left them a debt to the Exchequer of £10 3s.⁷⁴ They carried this debt forward to 1171, when they reported that a pardon had been extended to Geoffrey de Saint-Maurus for 5s. This reduced their debt to £9 18s.⁷⁵ The two sheriffs carried this debt from 1172 through 1175.⁷⁶ They reported the account again in 1176, at which time they paid £2 13s 4d and reported two pardons for infractions in Huntingdon of £2 13s 4d each, granted to the bishop of Ely and Count William

⁷¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 1, 54; vol. 2, 34.

⁷²Pipe Rolls, vol. 7, 17; vol. 8, 61.

⁷³Pipe Rolls, vol. 11, 167.

⁷⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 95.

⁷⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 115.

⁷⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 114; 19, 159; 22, 140.

of Mandeville. This left a balance of £1 18s owed to the treasury.⁷⁷

In 1177, Ebrard de Beche and Warren de Bassingburn the debt of £1 18s that carried over from the previous year and rendered a new account of £10 13s 8d for assarts and related offenses. Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, received a pardon of £1 5s 6d and the Knights Templar received a pardon of 4s. The sheriffs paid the treasury £8 17s 5d, leaving a debt to the crown of 6s 9d.⁷⁸

The following year brought a new sheriff, Walter FitzHugo, to Cambridge and Huntingdonshire. His first year Walter reported an account of 6s 9d. He paid 3s and reported a pardon extended to the Knights Hospitaller of 2s. This left him a debt of 1s 9d.⁷⁹ He reported this debt annually through 1181.⁸⁰

In addition to his debt of 1s 9d, in 1180 Walter FitzHugo reported a debt of £24 3s 4d for assarts and waste and pleas of the forest assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.⁸¹ Walter worked to settle this account over the next few years. In 1181, he paid the treasury £14 16s 6d and reported that a pardon of £1 19s had been granted to Geoffrey, bishop of Ely. This left Walter with a debt of £7 7s 10d. Then reporting on the same debt and the same account, he paid the Exchequer another 13s 4d, further reducing the debt to £6 14s 6d.⁸² In 1182 he

⁷⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 71.

⁷⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 180 and 182.

⁷⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 115.

⁸⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 32; vol. 29, 34; vol. 30, 98.

⁸¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 38.

⁸²Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 101.

paid £2 2s, further reducing what he owed to £4 12s 6d.⁴³ In 1183, a man named Ralph Bardulf took over as sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, and it was this sum that he reported as debt.⁴⁴

Ralph Bardulf reported the account of £4 12s 6d again in 1184, and at that time he reported that the bishop of Lincoln had been granted a pardon of £2 13s for his share of the fines assessed on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Thomas FitzBernard. This left him with a debt of £1 19s 6d.⁴⁵

At Michaelmas 1185, Ralph Bardulf reported three accounts. The first was a debt of £1 9s 6d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Thomas FitzBernard.⁴⁶ The second account totaled £9 5s 6d for fees assessed on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Huntingdon. The sheriff paid £6 19s 9d, leaving a debt to the Exchequer of £2 5s 9d. Then, reporting on the same debt and same account, he contributed another £1 16s 3d, further reducing the debt to 9s 6d.⁴⁷ Finally, in a complicated account it was noted that Bardulf owed 9s on assarts in the village of Stiuekelea. The Exchequer clerks mixed several accounts together in this entry, but the final line indicates that this account was cleared by payment of the fine.⁴⁸

⁴³Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 76.

⁴⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 42.

⁴⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 11.

⁴⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 55.

⁴⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 59.

⁴⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 59.

Robert FitzNicholas took over as sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdon in 1186. He carried forth the account of £1 9s 6d of assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest as a debt. The second account he carried over totaled 9s 6d, of which he paid 6s 6d, leaving a debt of 3s. Finally, the bishop of Lincoln reported a debt of £1 15s 3d for assarts in Spaldewich and Buggeden.⁸⁹

During the meeting of the Exchequer in autumn 1187, the last time many people reported assarts during the reign of Henry II, Robert FitzNicholas reported debts for assarts, waste and pleas of the forest of Huntingdon of £1 9s 6d, assessed by Thomas FitzBernard, and 3s, assessed by Geoffrey FitzPeter. He reported a debt for assarts and waste of 11s 8d, and the bishop of Lincoln again reported his debt of £1 15s for assarts in Spaldewich and Buggeden.⁹⁰

In many ways, the record for Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire represents a very normal set of accounts. The number of reports is not excessive, and while foresters operated in the area they were by no means responsible for a large quantity of annual activity. Between 1159 and 1187 the sheriffs in these shires paid the Exchequer a total of £46 15s 7d, while the crown extended pardons that totaled £16 15s 2d. Most of the time sheriffs attempted to pay their bills and get out of any on-going debt, and apparently new assarting activity did not represent a great part of the annual account.

⁸⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 33 and 35.

⁹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 78-79.

Carlisle, 1163-1170

Robert FitzTroite, sheriff of Carlisle, reported assarts and related activities twice during the reign of Henry II. In 1163, he reported an account of one mark, or 13s 4d, for assarts, which he paid in full.⁹¹ Seven years later, he rendered an account of £40 14s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid the treasury £35 14s 4d, and reported a pardon granted to the monks of Holmcultram for £5, clearing the account.⁹²

In total, Carlisle contributed a total of £36 7s 8d to the royal treasury in matters concerning assarts and related offenses. The crown pardoned £5 worth of fines for activities in the territory.

Cornwall, 1180-1186

The first accounts in Cornwall that concern assarting and related activities occurred in 1180. Sheriff Alan de Furnell reported a debt of £30 14s 4d for fees assessed on assarts and related offenses by Thomas FitzBernard.⁹³ The following year he paid the treasury £20, reducing the debt to £10 14s 4d.⁹⁴ In 1182 he carried forward his account of £10 14s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Thomas FitzBernard. Alan paid the treasury £6 14s 4d, leaving an outstanding balance of £4.⁹⁵ Over the next four years, Alan de Furnell

⁹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 6, 10.

⁹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 32.

⁹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 97.

⁹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 33.

⁹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 82.

paid £1 per year until his debt was eradicated in 1186.⁹⁶

The total sum Cornwall paid the royal treasury in matters concerning assarts and related crimes was £30 14s 4d. No pardons were issued.

Cumberland, 1178-1182

The sheriff of Cumberland, Robert de Vallibus, made four reports concerning assarts and assarting activities between 1178 and 1182. He first rendered an account for assarts and waste in 1178 that totaled £12 4s 8d. He paid his account in full at Michaelmas.⁹⁷ Two years later he reported a debt of £33 15s 8d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.⁹⁸ The following year he carried this account forward, and paid the treasury £9 16s 6d, reducing the debt to £23 19s 2d.⁹⁹ Robert de Vallibus made his last report concerning assarting activity in 1182, when he updated his account, paying at that time £23 19s 2d, and clearing the account.¹⁰⁰

Officials in Cumberland paid the crown a total of £46 4d in fines levied on assarts and related activities. The crown issued no pardons.

⁹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 73; vol. 33, 88; vol. 34, 200; vol. 36, 148.

⁹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 127.

⁹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 61.

⁹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 25.

¹⁰⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 137.

Devonshire 1172-1184

Robert FitzBernard reported Devonshire's first account concerning assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in his 1172 Michaelmas report. He rendered an account of £6 4s 2d for offenses in the forest of Devonshire, of which he paid the treasury £1 6s 8d. This left him a debt of £4 17s 4d.¹⁰¹ Over the next few years, the reins of the county changed hands to Count Reginald and some of his associates and then to William Ruffus, and each year whoever the sheriff of Devonshire was reported this sum of £4 17s 4d as a running debt.¹⁰²

It was William Ruffus, who as sheriff in 1177 reported the sum as an active account, of which he paid £1 6s 8d, reducing the recorded debt to £3 11s (indicating a rare mathematical error on the part of the Exchequer clerks). He next reported that Reginald de Curtenai had received a pardon of £2 17s 8d for activity on this account, further reducing the debt to 13s 4d. William Ruffus then reported a new account of £5 16s 2d for assarts and related offenses assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid £1 4s, leaving a debt of £4 12s 2d.¹⁰³

The following year Hugo de Gundeville took over as sheriff. He reported the debt of 13s 4d left by his predecessor, and carried forth the second balance of £4 12s 2d. On the second account he paid 6s 6d and reported a pardon extended to Reginald de Curtenai of £2 17s 8d. Reginald de Curtenai's pardon was equal to that of the previous year, but applied to

¹⁰¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 101.

¹⁰²Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 147; vol. 21, 92; vol. 22, 62; vol. 25, 143.

¹⁰³Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 3 and 8.

the new account, leaving a balance of £1 8s.¹⁰⁴

Hugo de Gundeville also reported as sheriff of Devonshire in 1179. Again, the debt of 13s 4d was brought forth, with the indication that it had been assessed by Alan de Neville. The second account of £1 8s was reported as an active account levied by Thomas FitzBernard, on which Hugo paid 7s 6d, reducing the debt to £1 10d (revealing a second rare slip by the treasury clerk).¹⁰⁵

In 1180 the administration in Devonshire again changed hands, and William Briewere became sheriff. He would remain sheriff until 1184, when the accounts concerning assarts in Devonshire for Henry II's reign cease. His first year as sheriff, William Briewere reported the running debt of 13s 4d and the debt of £1 10s from the previous year, associated with Alan de Neville and Thomas FitzBernard, respectively.¹⁰⁶ William Briewere also reported a third debt of £14 5s 8d, which was attributed to assarts and related offenses levied by Thomas FitzBernard.¹⁰⁷

The following year, William Briewere carried forth these same three accounts. He reported the 13s 4d again as a debt. On the account of £1 10s he made a payment of 6s, leaving the outstanding balance at 14s 10d. The third account totaled £14 6s 8d. He paid the treasury £10 5s 4d, leaving a balance of £4 4d.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 11 and 14.

¹⁰⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 11 and 14.

¹⁰⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 90 and 92.

¹⁰⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 95.

¹⁰⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 28, 30, and 31.

William Briewere brought forth all three accounts again in 1182, and again paid on two of them. On the account of 14s 10d, he paid 1s. In the case of the much larger account, which totaled £4 4d, he paid £2 2s and reported a pardon extended to the bishop of Exeter of 16s. This left a debt of £1 2s 4d.¹⁰⁹

In 1183, William Briewere again brought forth the balances of the three accounts. He reported a debt of 13s 4d on assarts, waste and pleas of the forest that had been assessed by Alan de Neville, and a debt of 13s 10d for assarts and related activities levied by Thomas FitzBernard. The third account, levied on assarts and related offenses by FitzBernard, he brought forth as a total of £1 2s 4d, of which he paid half, leaving a debt to the crown of 11s 2d.¹¹⁰

The last year assarting was reported in Devonshire during the reign of Henry II was 1184. That year William Briewere reported a debt of 13s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Alan de Neville, and two debts of 13s 10d and 11s 2d for assarts and related offenses levied by Thomas FitzBernard.¹¹¹ All three debts were carried forth from the previous year, but no money was contributed to the treasury on any of them.

Throughout the twelve years in which officials reported assarting and related activities in Devonshire, the county paid the crown a total of £17 16s 10d. Officials reported pardons that totaled £6 11s 4d that had been issued to offenders in the county.

¹⁰⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 28, 29, and 30.

¹¹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 113-114.

¹¹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 75-76.

Dorset and Somerset 1171-1179

The royal government of Medieval England administered Dorset and Somerset as one unit, assigning one sheriff to oversee the adjacent counties. The first reports that concerned assarts appeared under the reports of the sheriff of Somerset, although the activity to which they refer took place in Dorset. Sheriff Alfred de Lincoln rendered an account of £108 4s 3d for assarts, waste and pleas of the forest of Dorset. He paid the treasury £72 10s and reported several pardons. Geoffrey de Maine and Robert de Saint-Pancras each received a pardon of £6 13s 4d. The crown granted a pardon of £2 to Nicholas de Stuteville. Robert of the church of Saint-Marie received a pardon of £1 6s 8d. The outstanding debt remained at £19 11d.¹¹²

The following year, Alfred de Lincoln, now listed a sheriff of Dorset and Somerset, reported an account of £19 11d, of which he paid £16 19s 1d. Richard de Camville received a pardon of £1 12s and the archdeacon of Scotland received a pardon of 6s 8d, leaving the shires' outstanding balance at 3s 2d.¹¹³ Alfred carried this sum as a debt until 1175 when he reported that a royal pardon extended to Osbert de Bichelea for the exact amount due cleared the account.¹¹⁴

No reports concerning assarting activities were made in 1176, and 1177 brought a new sheriff, Robert de Beauchamp, to the administration of Dorset and Somerset. His first year in the office, Robert reported a sum of £5 3s 8d for assarts and related offenses in the forests of Somerset. The sheriff paid £3 16s 6d, and reported a pardon granted to Osbert de

¹¹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 17.

¹¹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 75.

¹¹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 193; vol. 21, 18; vol. 22, 24.

Bichelea of £1 6d. This left the account with an outstanding balance of 6s 8d. Robert de Beauchamp reported a second account that totaled £3 15s, of which he paid £3 12s, leaving a debt to the treasury of 3s.¹¹⁵ The following year, Robert brought these accounts forward, carrying the sum of 6s 8d as a debt and paying off the account of 3s.¹¹⁶ Dorset and Somerset's last entry concerning assarting occurred in 1179, when Robert de Beauchamp cleared his debt of 6s 8d via a pardon for that amount granted to the monks of Bec.¹¹⁷

From the counties of Dorsetshire and Somersetshire during the 1170s, royal officials were able to pay the Exchequer a total of £97 7d for assarts and related matters. The king pardoned the activities of individuals to a total of £20 2s 4d.

¹¹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 20 and 21.

¹¹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 41.

¹¹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 68.

ESSEX AND HERTFORDSHIRE THROUGH SHROPSHIRE

Essex and Hertfordshire, 1170-1187

The royal government first recorded assarting activity in Essex and Hertfordshire in 1169 when Sheriff Nicholas Clericus rendered an account of £77 19s 11d for fines levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville. Nicholas paid the crown £23 3s 1d, and reported the following pardons: Arnulf de Ardragh received a pardon of £2; Anselm Campdauen received a pardon of £8 3s 8d; and the canons of Standsted received one pardon of 2s and one pardon of 1s. This left Nicholas a debt to the crown of £44 10s 2d.¹¹⁸

In 1170, Sheriff Robert Mantel he rendered an account of £44 10s 2d for assarts, waste and pleas of the forest. William Larval received a pardon of 11s 8d for his share of the fines, and the shire paid the treasury £7 17s 6d. This left the counties with an outstanding debt of £36 1s.¹¹⁹ The following year, Robert Mantel reported an account for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Essex assessed by Alan de Neville and his associates that totaled a notable £151 17s 5d. Robert paid the treasury £2, and reported several pardons associated with the account. Robert de Ruilli received a pardon of 15s, Alice Capre received a pardon of £2, and the abbey of Bell received a pardon of 10s. The crown granted a pardon to Walter de Hatfield for 2s 6d, and to Wigo for 5s 3d. Derkin de Acre and Henry de Kemesech received a joint pardon of £2 12s 10d. Constable Richard de Humez received a pardon of £5 2s, and the archbishop of Colchester received a pardon of 9d. This left Robert Mantel with an

¹¹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 13, 127.

¹¹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 107.

outstanding debt of £100 9s 1d. Reporting on the same account of the same debt, Robert then cited another pardon extended to Count William de Mandeville of £18 9s 4d. This left the final balance owed at £19 19s 9d.¹²⁰

The following year, Robert Mantel reported only an account of £4 12s 8d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He reported that Ade Fitzlord, chamberlain, received a pardon of £2 17s 6d, reducing the debt to £1 15s 2d.¹²¹ Robert brought this debt forward to the next year, and also reported a debt of £48 5s 8d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.¹²² Robert carried both debts again in 1174.¹²³

The following year Robert Mantel reported his running debt of £1 15s 2d, but reported activity on the account that totaled £48 5s 8d. He paid £2 11s 1d, and reported that the crown had extended a pardon of 4s to the bishop of Winton and a pardon of 7s 6d to Richard de Lucy. This left the shires with a recorded debt £42 15s, which is one of the rare cases of a mistake on the part of the Exchequer clerks.¹²⁴

In 1176, Robert Mantel brought forth both accounts as active. He reported a sum of £1 15s 2d for fees on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid 2s 6d, and reported a pardon of 9s 8d extended to William FitzAldelina, steward. This reduced the account to £1

¹²⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 124.

¹²¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 42.

¹²²Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 16 and 18.

¹²³Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 70 and 71.

¹²⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 73 and 75. The actual final balance should have been £45 3s 1d.

3s.¹²⁵ The second account totaled (a most likely incorrect) £42 15s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest of Essex. Robert Mantel paid £7 1s 8d. He reported that Earl Alberic received a pardon of £6 13s 4d for his part of the debt. Likewise, the Knights Hospitaller received a pardon of £1 15s 11d and the steward, William FitzAldelina, received a pardon of 3s. This left the debt owed to the treasury at £27 1s 1d. Next, reporting on the same account and same debt, Robert paid in an additional 16s 9d, reducing the debt to a final sum for 1176 of £26 4s 4d.¹²⁶

The next year Mantel reported a debt of £1 3s, which carried over from the previous year.¹²⁷ In addition, he rendered an account to the Exchequer for fines levied on assarts, waste, pleas of the forest, and related offenses that totaled £108 10s 6d. He paid the treasury £60 14s 4d and reported several pardons granted by the crown to those who had been fined. Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, received a pardon of £3 8s 2d and William Mandeville received a pardon of £17 11s. Countess Eve of Striguil and Eude FitzErnisi received pardons of £3 each. The king extended pardons of £1 4s to Henry de Kemesech, £ 1 14s to Robert Ruilli, £2 7s 6d to William Lanval, and £1 4s to the Church of the Holy Cross of Waltham. William de Blythe received a pardon of 7s 6d. Chamberlain Ailward received a pardon of 16s and Robert de Curtenai received a pardon of 15s. John, a monk of Bedmannesberg, received a pardon of 18s, Robert de Rochella one of 10s, and Richard FitzAlcher one of 22s. The crown pardoned Roger FitzRenfrid for a fine of 6d, Richard de Lucy for a sum of 5s 6d, and John

¹²⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 3.

¹²⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 4.

¹²⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 146.

FitzJohn for infractions of 9s. Robert Mantel himself received a pardon of 8s 6d, which left the final debt for his jurisdiction at £8 15s 6d.¹²⁸

In 1178 he reported the debt of £1 3s, a debt of £5 13s, each for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.¹²⁹ Toward the third account of fees for assarts and related activities that totaled £8 15s 6d, he paid the treasury £2 3s 4d, leaving a debt of £6 12s 2d. The sheriff then reported on the same account and debt, noting a pardon extended to the Knights Hospitaller of £1 17s. This further reduced the debt to £4 15s 2d.¹³⁰

In 1179, Robert brought forth these same accounts. The debts of £1 3s and £5 13s he continued to carry as debt.¹³¹ Toward the account that totaled £4 15s 2d for assarts, waste, and purprestures in Essex, he paid 9s, reducing the debt to £4 6s 2d.¹³²

These accounts carried over to 1180. Robert Mantel continued to carry the debt of £1 3s, and he contributed 1s 6d toward the second account, reducing the sum owed from £5 13s to £5 11s 6d. The third account totaled £4 6s 2s for assarts and related offenses. He paid the treasury 7s 8d and reported a pardon of 2s 6d granted to the canons of Waltham. This left him an outstanding balance on the third account of £3 16s.¹³³ Finally, the sheriff reported a new debt of £80 19s 2d for assarts and related crimes in the forests of Essex that had been

¹²⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

¹²⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 34.

¹³⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 35.

¹³¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 53.

¹³²Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 54.

¹³³Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 3.

assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.¹³⁴

Robert Mantel addressed the new debt from 1180 in the following year. The account totaled £80 19s 2d. The sheriff paid £46 13s 7d of the amount due, and reported several pardons that helped reduce the amount owed. Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, received a pardon of £6 7s 2d. The abbot of Bello received a pardon of 4s, and William de Lanval received a pardon of 14s 6d. The crown issued letters of pardon to Eude FitzAernisi for £2 and to Eve, countess of Ireland, for £4. This left an outstanding balance of £20 19s 11d. Robert then reported again on the same account, contributing an additional £2 11s to the debt. His final outstanding balance was £18 8s 11d.¹³⁵

The new year brought a new sheriff to Essex and Hertfordshire. Otto FitzWilliam began his tenure as sheriff by reporting an account for assart, waste, and pleas of the forest of Essex that totaled £1. He paid the treasury 9s, leaving a debt of 11s.¹³⁶ He reported a second account which carried over from the previous administration as a debt of £5 11s 6d for assarts in Essex.¹³⁷ His third account totaled £2 6d for fees assessed on assarts and related offenses in Essex. He paid the treasury 10s 6d. This left his outstanding balance at £1 10s.¹³⁸ Otto FitzWilliam's final account for 1182 totaled £18 8s 11d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Essex, a sum which carried over from the previous year. He paid the Exchequer £3

¹³⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 7.

¹³⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 106.

¹³⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 98.

¹³⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 99.

¹³⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 99.

8s 11d, leaving the account in debt £15.¹³⁹

Otto FitzWilliam reported on four accounts that concerned assarts or related forest offenses in 1183. The first account totaled 11s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest of Essex. He paid 2s, reducing his debt to 9s. He continued to carry a debt of £5 11s 6d. He carried forth his account that totaled £1 10s, and contributed 18s 3d to the Exchequer. This left his debt at £11 3s 2d.¹⁴⁰ Finally, he reported an account of £15 which carried over from the previous year. He paid the treasury £3 16s 10d, which left him an outstanding sum of £11 3s 2d.¹⁴¹

The following year, Otto FitzWilliam again reported four accounts. He first reported a debt of 11s. Next he reported the sum of £5 11s 6d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, which carried over from the previous year. He reported a pardon extended to the bishop of Ely that totaled 8m and 5s—a sum of £5 11s 8d. The Exchequer clerks recorded that this cleared the account, but why the pardon would have been for more for the debt is not clear. He reported a debt of 11s 9d which carried over from the previous year.¹⁴² His last account totaled £11 3s 2d for assarts and related crimes in Essex that he also carried over from the previous year. He paid the treasury £1 10s, reducing the account to £9 13s 2d.¹⁴³

In 1185, Otto FitzWilliam reported one debt of 11s 9d for assarts and related crimes

¹³⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 100.

¹⁴⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 20.

¹⁴¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 21.

¹⁴²Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 130.

¹⁴³Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 131.

in Essex and one active account for assarts and related crimes that totaled £9 13s 2d. He paid the treasury £2 19s 4d, which left him a debt of £6 13s 10d.¹⁴⁴ Each of these sums had been brought forth from previous Exchequer accounts. In 1186, Otto FitzWilliam brought forth the second account, which then totaled £6 13s 10d. He paid the crown 13s, reducing the debt to £6 10d.¹⁴⁵ This sum carried forward as Otto FitzWilliam's only account for Essex and Hertfordshire in 1187, the last year he reported during the reign of Henry II. He paid 7s to the treasury, which left an outstanding balance of £5 13s 10d.¹⁴⁶

Between 1170 and 1187, officials from Essex and Hertfordshire contributed £171 7s 10d to the royal treasury in assart-related matters. The crown issued pardons totaling a sum of £113 4s 5d for fines incurred in this area. All the fines issued in this active county were located in Essex, and relatively little of the fining appears to have been conducted by foresters. This may be due to the fact that the long-time sheriff, Robert Mantel, was often an associate of the infamous forester, Alan de Neville.

Gloucestershire, 1160-1187

William de Beauchamp reported an account of £5 6s 8d for assarts in Gloucestershire in 1160. He paid the treasury nothing, but reported a pardon extended to the earl of Leicester for £6s 8d. This left an outstanding debt of £5.¹⁴⁷ Gloucestershire, however, would not have

¹⁴⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 14.

¹⁴⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 13.

¹⁴⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 123.

¹⁴⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 29.

a sheriff report assarts or related crimes for another eighteen years.

Sheriff William FitzStephen made the next report concerning assarts in 1178, when he rendered an account of £27 11s 2d for assarts and waste levied by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid the treasury £8 3s 10d. The monks of St. James of Bristol received a pardon of £4 10s, and the sheriff himself, listed as “chamberlain” received a pardon of £2. This left an outstanding debt to the Exchequer of £12 17s 4d.¹⁴⁸ The following year William FitzStephen carried this sum forward, and paid £2 to the treasury. The reduced the debt to £10 17s 4d.¹⁴⁹ Reporting again on the same account and the same debt of £10 17s 4d, William FitzStephen reported a pardon issued to Robert Muschet of £5. This reduced the debt to £5 17s 4d.¹⁵⁰

In 1180, William FitzStephen reported a debt of £5 17s 4d for assarts and waste assessed by Thomas FitzBernard, which carried over from the previous year. The county paid the treasury 10s, reducing the debt to £5 7s 4d.¹⁵¹ The sheriff also reported a debt of £18 13s 10d for assarts and related fines assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.¹⁵² The following year William FitzStephen reduced his first debt to £5 with a pardon of 7s 4d that the crown granted to the earl of Gloucester.¹⁵³ His second account he reduced to £5 8s 3d with a payment to the treasury of £12 11s 3d and another pardon granted to the earl of Gloucester of

¹⁴⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 59.

¹⁴⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 91.

¹⁵⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 91.

¹⁵¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 114.

¹⁵²Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 115.

¹⁵³Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 119.

15s 4d.¹⁵⁴

The sheriff of Gloucester reported two accounts in 1182. The first carried forth as a total of £5 8s 3d. William FitzStephen paid the treasury £3 3s 9d. Hugo de Lacy received a pardon of 13s 4d, and William Crasso received a pardon of 6s 8d, which left the account with an outstanding balance of £1 4s 6d. The second account totaled £5, which he cleared with a pardon extended to Baldwin, bishop of Worcester.¹⁵⁵ In 1183, William reported his account of £1 4s 6d, toward which he paid 6d.¹⁵⁶ The year after that, he reported the sum of £1 4s as a debt.¹⁵⁷

A new account appeared in 1185, when William FitzStephen reported an account of £13 10s 6d for assarts that had been assessed by Robert de Hasley and his associates. William paid the treasury £4 19s 6d, leaving a debt of £8 11s.¹⁵⁸ He carried this debt forward to 1186, reporting a pardon extended to the monks of St. James of Bristol for £3 of the debt, which further reduced the debt to £5 11s.¹⁵⁹

William FitzStephen reported on two accounts in 1187, the year of Gloucestershire's last reports concerning assarting. The first he carried over from 1186, which totaled £5 11s. He paid the crown 6s 6d and reported a pardon extended to Roger FitzUrban of 10s. This left

¹⁵⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 121.

¹⁵⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 25-26.

¹⁵⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 95.

¹⁵⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 61.

¹⁵⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 148.

¹⁵⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 120.

a debt of £4 14s 6d.¹⁶⁰ The second account totaled £11 13s for assarts. William paid £3 14s and reported another pardon extended to Roger FitzUrban, this time for 7s 6d. This left the second account with an outstanding balance of £7 11s 6d.¹⁶¹

Officials in Gloucestershire paid a total of £35 9s 4d to the royal treasury for assarts and related accounts between 1160 and 1187. The crown pardoned a total of £22 16s 10d worth of offenses in the county. Debts in Gloucestershire's record seem to simply disappear, reduce, or increase and no explanation is provided in the records.

Hereford in Wales, 1170-1187

Walter de Beauchamp first reported assarting in Hereford during his tenure as sheriff in 1170. He reported an account assessed on assarts and waste that totaled £52 9s 8d. He paid £3 to the crown and reported a pardon granted to Hugh de Lacy of 13s 4d. This left him an outstanding balance of £48 16s 4d.¹⁶²

The sum of £48 16s 4d carried over to 1171, when a new sheriff, William de LaLega, reported what he owed for assarts and waste. He paid the treasury £16 3s, which reduced the balance owed to £32 13s 3d.¹⁶³ This sum would be reported as an outstanding balance for the next fourteen years. From 1172 through 1177 this was the only report entered concerning

¹⁶⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 137.

¹⁶¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 140.

¹⁶²Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 59.

¹⁶³Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 83.

assarts and waste in Hereford.¹⁶⁴

Sheriff Ranulph Poer made two reports concerning assarts and related crimes in 1178. First he reported the county's running debt of £32 13s 4d.¹⁶⁵ His second report concerned an account that totaled £28 9s 8d for fees levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid the Exchequer £4 9s 8d and reported that the crown had extended two pardons on the account. The Knights Hospitaller received a pardon of £6, and William Hatewi received a pardon of £3. This left the shire with an outstanding balance of £15.¹⁶⁶ The following year Ranulph Poer carried both accounts forward. As indicated above, the first remained a debt of £32 13s 4d. The second account came forward as an active account. The shire paid the treasury £1 and reported that the Knights Templar received a pardon for £14 for a total of £15, which cleared the account.¹⁶⁷

In 1180, Ranulph Poer reported his standing debt of £32 13s 4d and a new debt of £11 4s 4d for assarts and related offenses assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.¹⁶⁸ The larger running debt carried over to 1181, but the account of £11 4s 4d came forward as an active account, of which Ranulph paid £8 19s 4d and reported a pardon of £1 10s granted to William Hatewi. This left the second account with a balance of 15s.¹⁶⁹ Both accounts came forward the next

¹⁶⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 3; vol. 19, 41; vol. 21, 123; vol. 22, 87; vol. 25, 42; vol. 26, 53.

¹⁶⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 101.

¹⁶⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 102.

¹⁶⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 40 and 41.

¹⁶⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 116 and 118.

¹⁶⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 2 and 3.

year, and Ranulph paid 5s, reducing the 15s debt to 10s.¹⁷⁰

Hereford received new sheriffs, Milo de Muzegro and William Torel, in 1183 and 1184, respectively. Each man carried a debt of £32 13s 4d and 10d from year to year, with the occasional notation attributing the debt to either Alan de Neville or Thomas FitzBernard.¹⁷¹ In 1185, William Torel carried these forward and also reported a third account that totaled £3 19s 6d for fees assessed on assarts. He paid £1 2s 5d to the Exchequer. This left the shire with a new debt of £2 17s 1d.¹⁷²

A new sheriff, Ralph de Arden, came to Hereford in 1186. William carried forth an account that totaled 10s for assarts and related offenses levied by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid the crown 3s 4d, leaving a debt of 6s 8d. The second account he reported, which also carried forth from the previous years, was a debt of £2 17s 1d.¹⁷³ The running account of £32 13s 4d was gone.

The final year that sheriffs reported assarting activity in Hereford during Henry II's reign was 1187. That year Ralph de Arden reported one debt of 6s 8d for assarts and related crimes and one debt of £2 17s 1d for assarts. His third report was for a new account that totaled £4 3d for assarts. He paid £1 10s 6d, which left a debt to the treasury of £2 9s 9d.¹⁷⁴

In Herefordshire during the period in which officials reported assarting activity, the

¹⁷⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 13 and 14.

¹⁷¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 110; vol. 33, 26 and 27.

¹⁷²Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 197, 198, and 199.

¹⁷³Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 31.

¹⁷⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 131, 132, and 133.

county paid the treasury a total of £36 13s 3d. The crown forgave fines levied on these activities that totaled £25 3s 4d. We find a great deal of running debt in Herefordshire, and the late appearance of royal foresters.

Lancashire, 1176

In 1176, Ralph FitzBernard reported an account of £93 13s 4d for fines levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Lancashire by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph. Ralph FitzBernard paid his debt to the treasury in full.¹⁷⁵

Northamptonshire, 1160-1187

Northamptonshire ranks second to Berkshire in number of entries concerning assarting during the reign of Henry II that could be used in the database constructed for this project. Exchequer clerks recorded the first of these numerous entries in 1160. At that time, Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire existed as a single administrative unit. Peter FitzSimon, the sheriff of Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire, rendered an account of £53 6s 8d for fines levied on assarts in 1160. He paid the crown £31 10s 2d. He then reported to the treasury that the following individuals and institutions received pardons from the crown for their offenses: Henry FitzGerard, £1 6s 8d; the wife of Hugo Gubuin, £1; Geoffrey de Vere, 13s 4d; Gilbert de Pinchinni, 10s; Hugo de Hamesclape, £2; the abbey of St. Edmund, £1 7s; the king of the Scots (i.e. *tra Reg. Scotie*), £2 13s 4d; William Malduit, £3 6s 8d; the monks of Pipewell, £1 6s 8d; the monks of Bittlesden, £1 6s 8d; the Knights

¹⁷⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 89.

Templar, 13s 4d; the monastery of Bec, 6s 8d; William, brother of R[obert?], £1; the Knights Hospitaller, £1 6s 8d; and the king's constable, Richard Humez, £2 19s 6d. This cleared Peter FitzSimon's account.¹⁷⁶ The next entry came in 1163 when Sheriff Hugo Gubiun rendered an account of £1 for assarts in his jurisdiction, which by that time already included only Northamptonshire. He paid this account in full.¹⁷⁷

There were no more entries concerning assarts or land clearance in Northamptonshire for eight years, and at that point Northamptonshire was administered as a single unit. In 1171, Sheriff Robert FitzSewin reported an account with a total of £1 3s for assarts and waste. He paid the treasury 3s, and reported that £1 had been pardoned by letters from the king. This cleared the debt.¹⁷⁸ Three years later, Robert FitzSewin reported a debt for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest that had been levied by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph. The outstanding debt totaled a weighty sum of £164 10s 7d.¹⁷⁹

The following year a new sheriff took over the administration of Northamptonshire and this debt carried forward. Hugo de Gundeville reported the account for 1175 of £164 10s 7d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Alan de Neville and his companions. The sheriff paid the treasury £87 14s 6d. Several royal pardons helped him clear another part of the debt. Robert de Peissi received a pardon for £8 4s 4d and Ranulph de Broch received a pardon of 12s. The king granted Hugo de Hamesclape a pardon of £2 12s 6d and Robert

¹⁷⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 37.

¹⁷⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 6, 37.

¹⁷⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 47.

¹⁷⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 54.

FitzSewin a pardon of £3. William Venatori was pardoned a debt of £2, and Chamberlain William Malduit received a pardon of £3 15s. Despite these pardons, this left the county an outstanding debt to the Exchequer of £56 12s 3d.¹⁸⁰

Hugo de Gundeville next rendered an account concerning assarts and related offenses in 1177 when he reported £18 9s 1d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Alan de Neville and his crew. He paid the crown £8 14s 1d, leaving a debt of £9 15s.¹⁸¹ The next year a new sheriff came to Northamptonshire.

Thomas FitzBernard, active in so many accounts concerning assarting and forest matters, became sheriff of Northamptonshire in 1178. Thomas FitzBernard carried forth his predecessor's debt to an active account of £9 15s, of which he paid the treasury £1, reducing the debt to £8 15s.¹⁸²

Thomas also reported a second account in 1178 that totaled a hefty £143 14s 10d for assarts and waste. Roland de Dinan received a pardon of £10, Roger de Calz received a pardon of £3 10s, and the crown granted the monks of Pipewell a pardon for £8 1s. Wakelin FitzBaldwin received a pardon of £6 10s, and Nicholas the King's Chaplain received one pardon of 4s and one of 3s. The crown granted Robert de Peissi and Gilbert de Wascuil a joint pardon of £17 10s, and Constable Richard de Humez received a pardon of £12 6s 8d. The crown granted the Knight's Templar a pardon of 3s 4d. Thomas paid the Exchequer £98. In the end, this left Northamptonshire with a debt to the treasury of £87 6s 10d. Next,

¹⁸⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 43.

¹⁸¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 90.

¹⁸²Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 49.

reporting on the same debt and same account, Thomas entered another pardon of £3 16s extended to Robert de Curtenai, reducing his debt to £83 10s 10d. Thomas entered yet a third report on the same account and same debt, at that time paying £2 more, leaving his debt for 1178 on this account at £81 10s 10d.¹⁸³

In 1179, Thomas FitzBernard carried forth both of these accounts. The first totaled £8 15s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied through the activities of Alan de Neville. Northamptonshire paid £1 toward this account, reducing the account to an outstanding sum of £7 15s.¹⁸⁴ Next he reported £81 10s 10d for assarts and waste in the forest of Northamptonshire. He paid £5 15s, reducing the debt to £75 15s 9d. Then, reporting on the same account and same debt, Thomas reported a pardon extended to the monks of Bec of 2s, which left the account with an outstanding balance of £75 13s 9d.¹⁸⁵ The following year, Thomas reported one debt of £7 15s, which carried over from the previous year, and one debt of £96 6d, which appears to be a new debt of for assarts and related offenses in the forest of Northamptonshire.¹⁸⁶

Thomas FitzBernard reported three accounts in 1181, two of which were straightforward accounts and one of which was complicated by numerous pardons. The first account totaled £7 15s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Alan de Neville

¹⁸³Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 54.

¹⁸⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 62.

¹⁸⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 64.

¹⁸⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 83 and 87.

and his associates. Thomas paid the treasury 19s 3d, reducing the debt to £6 15s 9d.¹⁸⁷ The second account totaled £75 5s 3d for assarts and waste. He paid £1 3s 8d, which left a debt to the Exchequer of £72 1s 7d.¹⁸⁸ The third account carried over from 1180, and totaled £96 6d for assarts and related forest offenses. The county paid the treasury £68 18s 6d. Constable William de Humez received a pardon of £5 16s 8d, Robert de Curtenai received a pardon of £2, and Nicholas the chaplain received a pardon of 3s. William de Lanval received a pardon of 13s 4d, the monks of Pipewell received a pardon of £7 3s 4d, and Roland de Dinan received a pardon of £1 6s 8d. The crown granted the monastery of Swardsley a pardon of 3s. This left the county in debt to the Exchequer £9 16s. Then reporting on the same account and same debt, Thomas reported another pardon extended to Roger de Calz for 13s 4d, leaving the account with a final outstanding total of £9 2s 8d.¹⁸⁹

In 1182, Thomas FitzBernard again carried forth these three accounts. The first carried forth as a total of £6 15s 9d that had been levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville and his associates. Thomas paid the crown £5 2s, and left a debt of £1 15s 7d.¹⁹⁰ The second account totaled £72 1s 7d for assarts and waste, of which the county paid 9s 3d. Thomas reported that a pardon of £21 12s had been extended to William de Lisors. This left an outstanding balance of £50 4d.¹⁹¹ The third account totaled £9 2s 8d

¹⁸⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 67.

¹⁸⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 69.

¹⁸⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 72.

¹⁹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 130.

¹⁹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 131.

for assarts and related forest offenses. The crown granted a pardon to William de Lisors for £3 1s, and Henry de Ver received a pardon for 6s 8d through letters issued by Ranulf de Glanville, and the sheriff paid £2 19s 10d. This left the county with a debt to the Exchequer of £2 15s 2d.¹⁹²

Thomas FitzBernard carried these three accounts forward again in 1183. He paid 13s 8d to reduce the first account to £1 1s 11d; he and the abbot of Burg paid £8 1s 4d to reduce the second account to £41 19s (the abbot paid 10m, and Thomas paid 28s); and he paid 3s 6d to reduce the third account to £2 11s 8d.¹⁹³

In 1184, Thomas FitzBernard appears to have had a partner, Ralph Morin, as sheriff of Northamptonshire. They reported the same running accounts. The first account totaled £1 1s 11d. They paid 5s, to reduce the debt to 16s 11d. The second account totaled £41 19s, of which they paid £16 13s 4d. Then reporting on the same debt and same account, which now totaled £25 5s 8d, they paid an additional 10s 11d, leaving an outstanding balance of £24 14s 9d. The third account totaled £2 11s 8d. The county paid nothing, but the sheriffs reported that Gilbert Pipard received a pardon of 13s 4d, reducing the debt to £1 18s 4d.¹⁹⁴

The following year a new sheriff was running Northamptonshire. Geoffrey FitzPeter made numerous reports concerning assarts and related offenses in 1185. The first two accounts he reported were debts of 16s 11d for fines levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest and £24 14s 9d for fines levied on assarts and waste, each of which carried over from

¹⁹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 133.

¹⁹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 119, 121, and 122.

¹⁹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 103, 104, and 105.

the previous year.¹⁹⁵ Next he reported an account of £1 18s 4d for assarts and related offenses, which also carried over from previous years. On this account he paid 14s, reducing the debt to £1 4s 4d.¹⁹⁶ The fourth account totaled £3 12s levied on assarts. Geoffrey paid the treasury £2 14s 2d, which left him a debt on this account of 17s 10d.¹⁹⁷ Next, Geoffrey reported an account of £28 3d for assarts and related crimes. He paid the Exchequer £21 4s 9d, which left a balance of £6 15s 6d. Then reporting on the same account of the same debt, he paid another 4s, leaving the debt at £6 11s 6d.¹⁹⁸ Finally, Geoffrey reported an account of £52 1s 4d for assarts and waste, which he paid in full.¹⁹⁹ Also in 1185, William de Peissi reported an account of £7 10s for assarts in Southampton (*45s de Sutelhangra*) and Blideswurtda (105s). William reported that he had received a pardon from the crown of £7 6s 8d, which left him a debt of 3s 4d.²⁰⁰

Geoffrey FitzPeter again updated his accounts at Michaelmas 1186. He reported one account that totaled 16s 11d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Alan de Neville. He paid 1s 11d, leaving a debt to the treasury of 15s.²⁰¹ Next he reported an account of £24 14s 9d for assarts and waste, of which he paid 12s. This left the second account in

¹⁹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 46 and 47.

¹⁹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 48.

¹⁹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 51.

¹⁹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 52.

¹⁹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 52.

²⁰⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 51.

²⁰¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 35, 3.

debt £24 2s 9d.²⁰² His third account was a debt for assarts and related crimes of £1 4s 4d.²⁰³ Next he reported accounts for assarting of 17s 10d and 3s 4d, both of which he cleared with a payment.²⁰⁴ Finally, he reported an account of £6 11s 6d for assarts and related crimes. He paid the Exchequer £6 2s 3d, which left him an outstanding balance of 9s 3d.²⁰⁵ Then, reporting again on the same account and same debt, Geoffrey FitzPeter paid the crown another 9s 3d, clearing the account.²⁰⁶

Northamptonshire, like many other shires, made its last reports concerning assarts and related activities in 1187. Geoffrey FitzPeter reported an account of 15s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest that had been levied by Alan de Neville. He paid the treasury 3s6d, which left him an outstanding balance of 11s 6d.²⁰⁷ He then reported debts of £24 2s 9d for assarts and waste and £1 4s 4d for assarts and related offenses.²⁰⁸

Officials in Northamptonshire (excluding the brief pairing with Buckinghamshire) collected £396 15s 2d in royal revenues for fines and rents levied on assarts and related activities during the period. A number of accounts were established early in the period and we find sheriffs working to pay them off throughout. The crown saw fit to forgive a large

²⁰²Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 4.

²⁰³Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 4.

²⁰⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 5.

²⁰⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 5.

²⁰⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 5.

²⁰⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 100.

²⁰⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 101.

number of fines in Northamptonshire that totaled £134 8s 10d.

Northumberland, 1170-1185

Sheriff Roger de Stuteville of Northumberland first reported assarting activity in his jurisdiction in 1170, when he rendered an account of £33 16s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest of Northumberland. He paid the treasury £30, leaving a debt of £3 16s.²⁰⁹ He carried this debt forward, and paid it in full the following year.²¹⁰

Roger de Stuteville made his next entry concerning assarts in 1174, when he reported a debt of £75 7s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed in his territories by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph.²¹¹ This debt carried forward to 1175, when Roger paid the treasury £67 7s 10d, leaving a debt of £7 19s 5d.²¹² This debt carried forward to 1176. At that year's Exchequer he paid £2 14s 4d, reducing his fine of £5 5s 1d.²¹³ The next year he paid £2 13s 5d, further reducing the debt to £2 11s 8d.²¹⁴

In 1178, 1179, and 1180, Roger de Stuteville reported a running debt of £2 11s.²¹⁵ In

²⁰⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 49.

²¹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 76.

²¹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 107.

²¹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 185.

²¹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 138.

²¹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 82.

²¹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 60; vol. 28, 27; vol. 29, 141.

1180, he also reported a new debt of £15 11s 10d for assarts and related offenses.²¹⁶

At the following Michaelmas, Roger de Stuteville reported a debt of £3 1s, which may be the same account he had earlier reported for offenses assessed by Alan de Neville.²¹⁷ He also carried forward his account of £15 11s 10d, and paid the treasury £13 14s 8d.²¹⁸ The Exchequer clerks recorded no remainder owed, however, he would have owed the treasury an additional £1 17s 2d, which is the sum of the account he reported in 1182. He paid the account off at that time.²¹⁹ Roger de Stuteville filed his final account concerning assarts in Northumberland in 1185, when he rendered an account of £2 8s 9d for assarts. He paid his account in full at Michaelmas.²²⁰

In total, officials in Northumberland paid the treasury a total of £124 12s 2d for the period. The crown issued no pardons.

Nottingham and Derbyshire, 1160-1187

Some of the earliest incidents of assarting recorded in the pipe rolls occurred in Nottingham and Derbyshire. In 1160, Sheriff Ranulph de Engelram reported an account of £20 4s 8d for assarts. He paid the treasury £8 18s. The abbot of Derby received a pardon of 13s 4d, the Knights Hospitaller received a pardon of £3, and the bishop of Chester received a

²¹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 142.

²¹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 48.

²¹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 49.

²¹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 49.

²²⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 153.

pardon of £6 13s 4d. This left an outstanding balance of £1.²²¹ The following year Ranulph carried this account forward, and reported another pardon of £1 extended to the monastery of Runfort, which cleared the account.²²² Ranulph de Engelram made no more reports concerning assarts for nearly a decade.

In 1170, Ranulph de Engelram reported an account that totaled £9 13s 4d for assarts and waste. He paid this off in full.²²³ Two years later he reported another account for assarts and waste that totaled £13 6s 8d. He reported that the monks of Runfort received a pardon for the full amount, clearing the debt.²²⁴ The same year, he also reported a second account for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Berkshire that totaled £18 12s. Richard de Lucy received a pardon of £1 6s 8d for part of the account, and the sheriff paid £2. This left him with an outstanding balance of £15 5s 4d.²²⁵ Why offenses from Berkshire made their way to the accounts of Nottingham and Derbyshire is not at all clear. There are, however, accounts recorded in the Nottingham and Derbyshire rolls that clearly belong with the Berkshire accounts, as well, and all occur in the same year. First, in 1172 Robert de Inglesham reported that he owed the crown £10 16s 9d for fines on assarts in Wicha. He paid the treasury £1 6s 8d as part of the Nottingham and Derbyshire account. This left Robert a

²²¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 44.

²²²Pipe Rolls, vol. 4, 31.

²²³Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 85.

²²⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 8.

²²⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 15.

debt of £9 10s 1d.²²⁶ Second Langley Iord reported a debt of 6s 8d for assarts in 1172. He reported a pardon extended to Chamberlain Ade FitzIord of 6s 8d, clearing his account.²²⁷ Both these debts appear to be linked to debts in Berkshire, and the account of Robert de Inglesham resumes the next year back in Berkshire (see Berkshire accounts).

The next report that William de Ranulph made was in 1178, when he rendered an account of £58 2s 4d for assarts and waste. Hugo FitzRobert received a pardon of £1, and the monks of Rufford received a pardon of £1 6s 8d. William paid £52 11s 2d, which left an outstanding balance of £3 14s 6d.²²⁸ The next year William carried forth this sum, with a notation that the fees had been assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. The sheriff paid £3 6s 4d, reducing the debt to 8s 2d.²²⁹ In 1180, he carried this amount as debt.²³⁰ A new sheriff, Ranulph Murdoch, paid this debt in full the following year.²³¹

Another new sheriff, Jacob de Hulmo, issued Nottingham and Derbyshire's next and final report concerning assarts in 1187. He reported fees of £2 levied on assarts, of which he paid 15s. This left an outstanding debt of £1 5s.²³²

Between 1160 and 1187 officials in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire collected and

²²⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 14.

²²⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 14.

²²⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 87.

²²⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 82.

²³⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 138.

²³¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 12.

²³²Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 168.

paid the Exchequer £78 18s 8d for accounts levied on assarts and related offenses. The crown pardoned fines that totaled £28 13s 4d.

Oxfordshire, 1170-1188

The first pipe roll account of assarting in Oxfordshire was reported by Sheriff Alard Banastre in 1170. He reported fines of £36 2s owed for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid the treasury £34 2s, and reported that the crown had extended a pardon to Richard de Camville of £1. This left the sheriff in debt to the crown £1.²³³ The next year, Alard Banastre carried forth this account, and reported that the crown had granted a pardon of 6s 8d to William de Caisneto, reducing the debt to 13s 4d.²³⁴ The sheriff of Oxfordshire made no report in 1172, but from 1173 through 1176 the sum of 13s 4d appeared as a debt for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest each year for Oxfordshire.²³⁵ Finally, in 1177, Robert de Tureville, who had become sheriff the year before, reported this sum as an active account. He cleared the account by reporting a pardon of 13s 4d extended to the Knights Templar.²³⁶

Robert de Tureville reported a sum of £38 8s levied on assarts and waste in 1178. He paid the treasury £21 3s 4d. Pardons were reported to have been extended to the Knights Templar for £4 and for £1, and to William de Caisneto and Ralph de Verdun for £1 10s. This left Oxfordshire's sheriff with a debt to the crown recorded by the Exchequer as £10 14s

²³³Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 69.

²³⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 134.

²³⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 170; vol. 21, 79; vol. 22, 13; vol.25, 29.

²³⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 12.

1d.²³⁷ This seems to represent one of the Exchequer's rare mathematical errors. In 1179, he carried this sum forth, paying £1 4s and reducing the debt to £9 10s 1d. Then reporting on the same account and same debt, he submitted a royal pardon extended to the earl of Gloucester of £2, further reducing the debt to £7 10s 1d.²³⁸

A new sheriff, Geoffrey Hose, entered Oxfordshire's reports in 1180. He reported the debt of £7 10s 1d, carried over from his predecessor's administration. He paid the crown 4s 1d, leaving a debt of £7 6s.²³⁹ Geoffrey reported a new debt as well, which totaled £35 3 4d for assarts and related offenses assessed through the work of Thomas FitzBernard.²⁴⁰

Yet another man took over as sheriff in 1182, when the next reports concerning assarting in Oxfordshire appear. Robert de Witefeld reported one debt of £7 6s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest and a second debt of £2 17s 10 for assarts and related offenses levied by Thomas FitzBernard.²⁴¹ Robert de Witefeld carried these three accounts as debts in 1183, 1184, and 1185.²⁴² In 1185 he also reported on two new accounts. The first account totaled £1 for assarts "de Couelea," which was cleared by a pardon to the Knights Templar.²⁴³ The second account totaled £5 2s for assarts and related offenses. He paid £3 2s 6d to the

²³⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 120.

²³⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 97.

²³⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 27.

²⁴⁰Pipe Roll, vol. 29, 29.

²⁴¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 125-126.

²⁴²Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 101-102; vol. 33, 71; vol. 34, 106-107.

²⁴³Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 108.

treasury, reducing the account to a debt of £1 17s 6d.²⁴⁴

1186 brought a new sheriff to Oxfordshire, but the debts concerning assarts remained the same. Alan de Furnell reported the same running debts, £7 6s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest and £2 17s 10d.²⁴⁵ The third account, brought forth from the previous year, totaled £1 17s 6d. He paid the crown 5s, reducing his debt to the Exchequer to £1 12s 6d.²⁴⁶ The next year Alan de Furnell reported the same three sums, £7 6s, £2 17s 10d, and £1 12s 6d, as accounts in debt.²⁴⁷

1188 brought the last Michaelmas Exchequer of Henry II's reign and last report concerning assarts came from a new sheriff, Robert de LaMara, who reported a debt of £1 12s 6d, a sum obviously carried over from his predecessor's time.²⁴⁸

Officials in Oxfordshire collected and paid the crown £59 11d for accounts assessed on assarts and related offenses. The crown pardoned fines totaling £9 10s.

Rutland, 1160-1187

Richard Humez, sheriff of Rutland, first reported assarts in his jurisdiction in 1160, when he rendered an account of 13s 4d for assarts. He paid the treasury in full.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 109.

²⁴⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 112.

²⁴⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 114.

²⁴⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 47-48.

²⁴⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 38, 152.

²⁴⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 39.

The next report concerning assarts issued forth a decade later. In 1170, Richard de Humez reported an account of £8 16s 8d for fees on assarts and waste assessed by Simon FitzPeter. He paid the treasury £4, and reported a pardon extended to Wakelin de Ferariis for £2 10s. This left the sheriff with a debt of £2 6s 8d.²⁵⁰ Rutland carried this sum as a debt through 1179, although no report concerning assarting was made in 1175.²⁵¹

Chamberlain William Malduit took over the responsibilities of sheriff of Rutland in 1180, at which time he reported the running debt of £2 6s 8d, which he paid in full. The same year, he also reported a new account in debt for a total of £14 3s 10d for assarts and waste assessed by Simon FitzPeter.²⁵²

William Malduit carried the account of £14 3s 10d forward to 1181. At that time he paid the treasury £4 6s 10d and reported one pardon extended to Wakelin de Ferariis for £5 and one pardon extended to Roger de Barre for 4s. This left an outstanding total of £4 13s.²⁵³ William made no report in 1182. In 1183, he reported a debt of £3 5s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He carried this debt through 1187, the last year the sheriff of Rutland made a report concerning assarting during the reign of Henry II.²⁵⁴

In Rutland, royal officials paid the treasury a total of £11 6s 10d for assarts and

²⁵⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 24.

²⁵¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 47; vol. 18, 38; vol. 19, 38; vol. 21, 55; vol. 25, 54; vol. 26, 103; vol. 27, 63; vol. 28, 71.

²⁵²Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 88.

²⁵³Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 80.

²⁵⁴Pipe, Rolls, vol. 32, 45; vol. 33, 109; vol. 34, 53; vol. 36, 82; vol. 37, 112.

related offenses during the reign of Henry II. The king issued pardons that totaled £7 14s.

Shropshire, 1160-1187

Shropshire's sheriffs were among the first to begin reporting the assessment and collection of fines for assarting and related offenses. In the first account, Sheriff Guy Extraneus reported assessing £3 6s 8d for assarts in 1160. He paid the crown £1 6s 8d, leaving a debt of £2 outstanding.²⁵⁵ There was no other report for ten years.

The sheriffs of Shropshire, Geoffrey de Verdun and William the Clerk, reported on two accounts in 1170. The first account totaled £90 9s for assarts and waste. The sheriffs paid £73 14s 4d, and reported pardons extended to the abbey of Beldewas for £3 6s 8d, the abbey of Haughmond for £1, and Gerard Choch for £2. This left the county in debt £10 8s. Then reporting on the same account and same debt, the sheriffs contributed another £2 13s 4d and reported another pardon of £2 13s 4d granted to the Knights Templar. The further reduced the debt to the crown to £5 1s 4d.²⁵⁶

The next year Guy Extraneus once again held the office of sheriff in Shropshire, and he carried forth the debt of £5 1s 4d for assarts and waste. He paid £2, reducing the debt to £3 1s 4d.²⁵⁷ Shropshire carried this sum as debt for the next seven years.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 27.

²⁵⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 133.

²⁵⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 33.

²⁵⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 111; vol. 19, 109; vol. 21, 109; vol. 22, 38; vol. 25, 56; vol. 26, 37; vol. 27, 84.

In addition to the running debt of £3 1s 4d, in 1178 Guy Extraneus reported an account which totaled £27 11s 7d for assarts and waste. The Knights Templar received a pardon of 13s, and Almaric de Lacy received a pardon of 10s 6d. The county paid £26 8s 2d.²⁵⁹ The Exchequer clerks noted that the debt was cleared, although the sum of the pardons and the sheriff's payment shows an overpayment of one penny.

In 1179, Guy reported the debt of £3 1s 4d.²⁶⁰ A new sheriff, Hugo Pantulf, reported this debt again in 1180, as well as a new debt of £58 4s 6d for assarts and other offenses levied by Thomas FitzBernard.²⁶¹ The next year Hugo reported the debt of £3 1s 4d. The account of £58 4s 6d for fines levied by Thomas FitzBernard he reported as active, and paid £57 11s 2d, reducing the debt to 13s 4d.²⁶² This debt was carried forth to 1182, and paid in full.²⁶³ The long running debt of £3 1s 4d disappeared in 1182, with no mention.

No reports concerning assarts were recorded in 1183 or 1184, but in 1185 three accounts were reported by the sheriff and private individuals. A fellow named Malcolm reported owing £5, which he paid in full.²⁶⁴ Maurice de Hudeswich reported a debt of 5s.²⁶⁵ Richard Tornur reported a debt of 1s. Ralph de Lilleshulla, reported a debt of 2s, and Edward

²⁵⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 85.

²⁶⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 42.

²⁶¹Pipe Rolls, vol 29, 9 and 11.

²⁶²Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 17 and 19.

²⁶³Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 23.

²⁶⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 128.

²⁶⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 129.

de Lillehulla reported a debt of 1s. Each man owed money for debts levied on assarts.²⁶⁶ Finally, Hugo Pantulf, acting as sheriff, reported fines that totaled £9 17s 6d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid the treasury £6 4d, leaving a debt of £3 17s 2d.²⁶⁷ No reports concerning assarts or illegal land clearance were made in 1186.

The final reports dealing with assarting and related offenses in Shropshire during the time of Henry II were made in 1187. Hugo Pantulf made two reports. The first was of a debt for assarts and waste in the forest of Shropshire that totaled £2 11s 5d.²⁶⁸ The second account totaled £12 10s 6d for fines levied on assarts. He paid £7 14s 1d, leaving a debt to the Exchequer of £4 16s 6d.²⁶⁹

Royal officials in Shropshire contributed £183 1s 5d to royal revenues in the form of monies collected from assarts and related accounts. The king issued pardons that totaled £10 3s 6d.

²⁶⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 129.

²⁶⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 129.

²⁶⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 64.

²⁶⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 66.

SOUTHAMPTONSHIRE THROUGH YORKSHIRE**Southampton, 1171-1187**

In 1170, Sheriff Hugo de Gundeville of Hampshire reported an account of fines levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Hampshire that totaled £152 15s 8d, of which he paid £112 15s 4d. The sheriff then reported several pardons extended to offenders: the monks of Bec, £2; Alard FitzWilliam, 10s; Rolland de Dinan, 17s 4d; the archbishop of Roth, £1; P. Broch, 3s; Constable Richard de Humez, 6s 8d; Walter de Lisle, 6s 8d; Chamberlain William Malduit, 6s 8d; and Ranulph de Broch, £1 5s. His payment and the pardons reduced the county's debt to £33 5s.²⁷⁰

Hugo de Gundeville reported an account at Michaelmas 1171 that totaled £33 5s for fees assessed on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid the treasury £7 7s 8d. This reduced his debt to the Exchequer to £25 17s 4d.²⁷¹ In 1172 he reported this same total, and paid £2 18s 9d and reported that the monks of Waverley had received a pardon of £7 for their part of the debt. This left the debt at £15 18s 7d.²⁷² The next year, Hugo de Gundeville reported a debt of £15.²⁷³ He carried this debt into 1174, when he also reported a staggering second debt of £206 17s 10d.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 125.

²⁷¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 39.

²⁷²Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 82.

²⁷³Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 47.

²⁷⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 129 and 130.

The following year, Hugo de Gundeville brought these two accounts forward to be updated. He paid the crown 10s on the first account, reducing his sum owed from £15 to £14 10s.²⁷⁵ The second account was more complicated. Hugo reported a sum owed of £206 17s 10d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph. He paid the Exchequer £64 6s and reported that the crown had granted multiple pardons to eliminate another portion of the debt. Ade de Herleberga received a pardon of 13s 4d, and Richard Foillet received a pardon of £2. The crown granted pardons to William Malvoisin for £1 6s 8d, Ranulph de Broch for £1, Vicedno de Pinkingni for 13s 4d, and Robert Bertrand for £2 4s 8d. The archbishop of Roth received a pardon of £1 6s 8d and Alard FitzWilliam received a pardon for £1 10s. Robert de Meisi was granted a pardon of £5. The abbey of Bec received a pardon of £13 6s 8d. In the end, this left the sheriff of Hampshire an outstanding debt of £113 8s 6d.²⁷⁶

In 1176, Hugo reported these same accounts. The first he carried as a debt of £14 10s.²⁷⁷ The second account totaled £113 8s 6d. He paid the treasury £22 8s 4d. The men of Andover received a pardon of £9 7s 2d, and William the Bastard received a pardon of £5. The debt that remained for Hampshire was £76 8s.²⁷⁸

The next year, something interesting happened in the Exchequer record. Hamptonshire or Hampshire became Southamptonshire. Hugo de Gundeville remained

²⁷⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 191.

²⁷⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 193.

²⁷⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 190.

²⁷⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 191.

sheriff, and one of his accounts carried over from 1176. Hugo reported an account of £14 10s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in 1177. He paid £1 to the treasury, reducing his debt to £13 10s.²⁷⁹ The second account totaled £88 8s 4d for assarts and related offenses. The abbot and monks of Waverley received a pardon of £19 17s, and Ade de Herleberga received a pardon of 15s. Hugo paid £47 4s, and this left him with a debt of £20 12s 4d.²⁸⁰

In 1178, Hugo de Gundeville reported two accounts concerning assarts at the Michaelmas meeting of the Exchequer. The first account totaled £65 1s 4d. Hugo paid the treasury £1 9s and reported that a royal pardon had been granted to the bishop of Winchester of £46 3s 4d. This left Southamptonshire with a debt of £17 9s.²⁸¹ The second account totaled £20 12s 4d. Hugo paid the crown £3 14s 6d and reported another pardon extended to the bishop of Winchester for £5, leaving an outstanding balance of £11 17s 10d.²⁸²

At the next year's Exchequer meeting, Hugo de Gundeville reported three accounts. The first totaled £11 15s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid 13s 8d, which left him a debt of £11 1s 8d.²⁸³ The second account, which carried over from the previous Exchequer report, totaled £17 9s. Hugo reported that the monks of Bec received a pardon for £1 10s of the debt, and paid £1 11s himself, reducing the account to £14 8s.²⁸⁴ The third

²⁷⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 168.

²⁸⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 171.

²⁸¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 108.

²⁸²Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 109.

²⁸³Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 103.

²⁸⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 103.

account also carried over from the previous year, with a total of £11 17s 10d for fees on assarts and related crimes. The shire paid £1 4s. The Knights Hospitaller received a pardon of 15s, the archbishop and canons of Roth received a pardon of 12s, and the canons of Merton received a pardon of 7s. This left Southamptonshire with a debt of £8 19s 10d.²⁸⁵

The new decade brought a new sheriff to Southamptonshire. Geoffrey FitzAze took the reins from Hugo de Gundeville in 1180 and continued to pay off the accounts accrued during his predecessor's administration. He reported an account of £11 1s 8d for assarts, waste and pleas of the forest in the forest of Hampshire and paid £1 to the treasury.²⁸⁶ The second account totaled £14 8s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Alan de Neville. He paid the Exchequer £1 12s 11d, leaving a debt of £12 15s 1d.²⁸⁷ The third account totaled £8 19s 10d for fees on assarts and related offenses. Geoffrey paid the treasury 3s, reducing the sum due to £8 16s 10d.²⁸⁸ The final account Geoffrey FitzAze reported was an apparently new and hefty debt of £100 16s 11d for fines assessed on assarts and related activities by Thomas FitzBernard.²⁸⁹

The next year Geoffrey FitzAze carried three of these debts forward. He paid £2 3s 4d on the first account, reducing it to £7 18s 4d. The second account totaled £12 15s 1d. He paid £3 15s 4d, leaving a debt of £8 19s 9d. Finally, he contributed 8s 8d toward the third

²⁸⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 104.

²⁸⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 132.

²⁸⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 132.

²⁸⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 133.

²⁸⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 135.

account, lowering it from £8 16s 10d to £8 8s 2d.²⁹⁰ The large debt of over £100 that appeared the year before was gone in 1181.

Geoffrey FitzAze reported one account of £7 18s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Hampshire as a debt in 1182.²⁹¹ His second account totaled £8 19s 9d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Alan de Neville. William de Courcy received a pardon of 12s, and Geoffrey paid the treasury clerks £1 15s 11d. This left a debt of £6 11s 10d.²⁹² Southampton's third account for the year totaled £8 8s 2d. Geoffrey paid 4s and reported a pardon extended to William de Courcy of 9s.²⁹³ The Exchequer clerks recorded no remaining debt, but Geoffrey's payment and the pardon granted to William de Courcy would have left the shire a debt of £7 15s 2d. Southamptonshire's next account appears to have been a new account that totaled £43 14s 7d for fines on assarts and related infractions levied by Thomas FitzBernard. The sheriff paid £2 10s 3d. The monks of Waverley received a pardon of £10, and William de Courcy received a pardon of £6 9s 10d. The crown granted three pardons to the archbishop of Roth for £2 13s 4d, £1 13s, and 12s. Southamptonshire's remaining debt to the Exchequer was £30 15s 2d.²⁹⁴

In 1183, Geoffrey FitzAze reported a debt of £7 18s 4d, a debt of £6 11s 10d, each for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, and a debt of £7 15s 2d for assarts and related

²⁹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 131 and 132.

²⁹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 140.

²⁹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 140.

²⁹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 141.

²⁹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 142.

offenses.²⁹⁵ Southamptonshire's final account for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest totaled £19 15s 2d, of which Geoffrey paid 8s 8d, leaving the account in debt £9 6s 6d.²⁹⁶ All these accounts carried over to the next year. In 1184 Geoffrey reported as debt the accounts of £7 18s 4d and £7 15s 2d.²⁹⁷ He reported another account with a total of £6 11s 10d. He paid the treasury 2s 6d, leaving a debt of £6 9s 4d.²⁹⁸ His last account totaled £19 6s 6d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. Geoffrey paid £2 1s 3d to the treasury, reducing his account to £17 5s 3d.²⁹⁹

The following year Geoffrey FitzAze again carried his account of £7 15s 2d as debt. His second account totaled £7 18s 4d. He paid the Exchequer 9s 4d, reducing the debt to £7 9s. The third account totaled £6 9s 4d, of which he paid 1s.³⁰⁰ The sum of the next account was £17 5s 3d. Geoffrey paid the treasury £8 14s 3d, which left his debt on this account that had been levied by Thomas FitzBernard at £8 11s.³⁰¹ Reporting on the same account and same debt of £8 11s, Geoffrey FitzAze then contributed a further £1, reducing the debt to £7 11s.³⁰² Finally, Geoffrey reported a new account that totaled £31 13s 4d for assarts and

²⁹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 142 and 143.

²⁹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 144.

²⁹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 81 and 82.

²⁹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 81.

²⁹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 83.

³⁰⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 208.

³⁰¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 209.

³⁰²Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 209.

related offenses. He paid £27 7s 3d, which left him a debt to the Exchequer of £4 6s 1d.³⁰³

Then reporting again on the same account and same debt of £4 6s 1d, Geoffrey FitzAze paid the treasury another 3s. This reduced the debt to £4 3s 1d.³⁰⁴

Geoffrey FitzAze reported one debt of £7 15s 2d and one debt of £7 9s in 1186.³⁰⁵ He rendered an account of £7 11s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Thomas FitzBernard. This account may have ended the previous year with a balance of £8 11s and an error may have been made in its re-recording, or it may be a new account. In either event, he paid the treasury £5 12s 2d, reducing the debt to £1 18s 10d.³⁰⁶ The next account totaled £4 3s 1d, which may be a clerical error on the account left at £4 6s 1d the year before or it may be a new account. The sheriff paid £1 3d to the treasury and the church of Amesbury received a pardon of 6s. This left the shire with a debt of £2 16s 10d.³⁰⁷

In 1187, Geoffrey FitzAze made his last reports concerning assarting during the reign of Henry II when he updated his accounts at Michaelmas.. He rendered an account of £7 15s 2d. He paid £1, reducing the debt to £6 15s 2d. The second account he reported was a debt of £7 9s, and his third account reported as a debt of £1 18s 10d. Southamptonshire's final account totaled £2 16s 10d for assarts and related offenses. The sheriff paid 19s, which

³⁰³Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 212.

³⁰⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 212.

³⁰⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 169.

³⁰⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 170.

³⁰⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 172.

reduced the debt to £1 17s 10d.³⁰⁸

Sheriffs of “Hampshire” rendered accounts that contributed a total of £210 6s 1d to royal revenues, while the crown issued pardons in this jurisdiction that totaled £57 5s 10d. Officials who collected revenues from “Southamptonshire” paid the treasury £225 18s 1d, and the crown issued pardons in these lands that totaled £97 14s 6d. We find a lot of pardons issued in this county early during the period but also many payments made annually. Most accounts are running accounts established early on, although new accounts do periodically appear. This county represents one of the rare instances in which Alan de Neville appears more than Thomas FitzBernard.

Staffordshire, 1160-1187

Staffordshire appears very briefly early in the recorded instances of assarts and related crimes. In 1160, Staffordshire’s sheriff, Robert de Stafford reported an account of £30 for assarts. He paid £20 13s 4d into the treasury, and reported that £7 6s 8d were pardoned because those who owed the fine possessed letters of pardon from the Crown. This left a outstanding balance owed to the treasury of £2.³⁰⁹ Staffordshire’s sheriffs reported no more instances of assarting for a decade.

Sheriff Herve de Stratton reported a very large account concerning assarts and waste in 1170, with three pardons attached to it. The account totaled £109 4s 10d. The county paid £57 7s 4d. The bishop of Chester received a pardon of £25 6s 8d, the monks of Combermere

³⁰⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 196 and 197.

³⁰⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 7.

received a pardon of £3 6s 8d, and the canonry of Radmore received a pardon of 6s 8d. In sum, this left Herve with a debt to the crown of £22 17s 6d.³¹⁰

The following year Herve de Stratton reported an account of £22 levied on assarts and waste in his jurisdiction. He paid the treasury £11 17s and reported pardon extended to the monastery of St. Ebrald for £1 6s 8d.. This left a debt to the Exchequer of £9 13s 10d.³¹¹ Herve carried this account over to the next year, when he paid £5 3s 4d, reducing the debt to £4 10s 6d.³¹² The account was brought forth again in 1173, at which time Herve paid 13s 4d, leaving a debt to the crown of £3 17s 2d.³¹³ He paid 13s 4d toward the debt again in 1174, reducing it to £3 3s 10d.³¹⁴ This sum was brought forth once again in 1175, at which time Herve paid 10s, leaving a debt of £3 3s.³¹⁵ For the next two year, this debt remained as the sole entry on Staffordshire's record of assarts and waste.³¹⁶

Herve de Stratton brought forth his regular debt of £3 3s in 1178, as well as a new account which totaled £33 13s 4d for assarts and waste. Toward the new account he paid £25 15s, leaving a balance due of £7 18s 4d.³¹⁷ The following year, this balance had disappeared,

³¹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 131.

³¹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 54.

³¹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 105.

³¹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 59.

³¹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 95.

³¹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 67.

³¹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 166; vol. 26, 140.

³¹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 98-99.

and all that carried over was the debt of £3 3s.³¹⁸

In 1180, Herve de Stratton again reported two accounts. The first was the debt of £3 3s, and the second was a debt of £29 9s 8d for fines on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.³¹⁹ These accounts carried over to 1181, when Herve paid £21 9s on the second account, reducing the debt to £8 8d.³²⁰

The next year Herve reported a new account, which totaled £5 15s 8d for assarts and related offenses levied by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid the treasury £2 19s 8d, leaving a debt of £2 16s.³²¹ Then, reporting on the same debt and same account of £2 16s, Herve de Stratton contributed a further 1s 6d which he reportedly received from the sheriff of Worcestershire. This left the debt at £2 14s 6d.³²² In 1183 and 1184, Herve de Stratton reported a debt each year of £2 14s 6d for fines levied by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts and related offenses.³²³

The year 1185 marked the arrival of a new sheriff in Staffordshire, Thomas Noel. His first year as sheriff of Staffordshire, he reported the fines carried forth from the previous year of £2 14s 6d for fines levied by Thomas FitzBernard. He paid £1 13s 6d, reducing the

³¹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 98.

³¹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 12 and 14.

³²⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 116-117.

³²¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 34.

³²²Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 34.

³²³Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 97; vol. 33, 68.

county's debt to £1 1s.³²⁴ He carried this debt in 1186 and 1187.³²⁵ In 1187, the last year Staffordshire made reports concerning assarts during the reign of Henry II, Thomas Noel reported a second account as well. This account totaled £4 2s 3d for fines levied on assarts. He paid the treasury £2 9d, leaving a debt of £2 1s 6d.³²⁶

In Staffordshire, officials paid the treasury £207 15s 3d in revenues collected from assarts and related offenses. The crown granted pardons on assarting accounts that totaled £59 6s 8d.

Surrey, 1177-1187

Surrey does not appear among the counties that recorded assarts until 1177, late in the record and well after the initial rounds of increased activity on the part of the royal government. Every assarting account reported in Surrey was linked to the activities of Thomas FitzBernard, and it may be that assarting and other forest offenses were simply not reported before he made his entrance into the shire's landscape.

Surrey's sheriff in 1177 was Gervase de Cornhill. In his first report to the Exchequer he entered an account that totaled £55 5s 5d for assarts and related offenses assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.. Gervase paid £16 6s and reported that royal pardons had been extended to the monastery of Haliwell for £3 15s, Ralph de Dena for £1 10s, Reese de Micheleham for £2, the canons of Merton for £14 6s 2d, and the monks of Waverley for £4

³²⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 165.

³²⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 35, 146; vol. 37, 149.

³²⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 151.

2s 4d. This left Surrey with an outstanding balance of £13 5s 11d.³²⁷

The following year, Gervase de Cornhill carried forth this balance. He paid £4 and reported a pardon extended to Richard, bishop of Winchester for 10s. This reduced the debt to £8 15s 11d.³²⁸ Gervase reported a second account in 1178 as well. He reported a sum of £19 2s 8d assessed on assarts and waste by Thomas FitzBernard. The sheriff paid £8. Engelram, steward of Pontiuo, received a pardon for £2 13s 4d, William de Malvoisin received a pardon for £1 6s 8d, Maurice de Creon was pardoned for 13s 4d, and the church of Bello received a pardon of 6s 8d. This left Surrey's second account in debt £6 2s 8d.³²⁹

In 1179, Gervase de Cornhill carried forth his accounts from the previous year. The first totaled £8 15s 11d for assarts and related crimes assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. He reported a pardon extended to the bishop of Exeter for 6s, reducing the debt to £8 9s 11d.³³⁰ The second totaled £6 2s 8d. He reported a pardon of £3 15s extended to Bishop Deodato and others. This left a debt to the crown of £2 7s 8d.³³¹

Surrey reported three accounts in 1180. The first account totaled £8 9s 11d, which carried forth from the previous year. Gervase de Cornhill paid £4 2s 5d, reducing the debt to £4 7s 6d.³³² The second account totaled £2 7s 8d for assarts and waste assessed by Thomas

³²⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 196.

³²⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 134.

³²⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 134.

³³⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 123.

³³¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 123.

³³²Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 44.

FitzBernard. The sheriff paid £1 6s 8d, leaving a debt of £1 1s.³³³ The third account Gervase reported was a debt of £38 7s 8d assessed on assarts and related offenses by Thomas FitzBernard.³³⁴

Gervase de Cornhill brought these three accounts forward to 1181. He paid £3 4s 6d toward the first account, reducing it from £4 7s6d to £1 3s.³³⁵ The second account was carried forth as a debt of £1 1s.³³⁶ The third account totaled £38 7s 8d for assarts and related crimes. Gervase paid £19 15s and reported royal pardons extended to Alexander de Tichesia for £1 5s and Ham de Valoignis for 9s. This reduced the account to £16 18s 8d.³³⁷

The following year, Gervase reported only one account, which carried over from the previous year. He rendered an account of £16 18s 8d for assarts and related offenses levied by Thomas FitzBernard. The crown extended pardons to the monastery of Haliwell for £2 5s and to the monks of Waverley for £2. The county paid £4 19s 4d, leaving a debt to the Exchequer of £7 14s 4d.³³⁸

Gervase de Cornhill reported three accounts concerning assarts in Surrey in 1183. The first account totaled 16s assessed on assarts and related crimes by Thomas FitzBernard. The county paid 6s, leaving a debt to the crown of 10s. The second account totaled 15s for

³³³Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 45.

³³⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 46.

³³⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 154.

³³⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 154.

³³⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 155.

³³⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 158.

finer levied on assarts and waste, again by Thomas FitzBernard. The sheriff paid 5s, leaving the account in debt 10s.³³⁹ The third account, carried forth from 1182, totaled £7 14s 4d for fines on assarts and related offenses assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. Gervase paid £3 10s 4d, leaving a debt to the treasury £4 4s.³⁴⁰

The year 1184 brought a change in the office of sheriff in the shire of Surrey. Gervase de Cornhill was supplanted by Henry de Cornhill, who carried forth the three accounts from the previous year. Henry reported two debts levied by Thomas FitzBernard of 10s each for assarts and waste. The third account levied by Thomas FitzBernard totaled £4 4s for assarts and related offenses. The county paid 12s, leaving a debt to the exchequer of £3 12s.³⁴¹

During the last three years that he made reports concerning assarting in Surrey, i.e. 1185, 1186, and 1187, Henry de Cornhill reported these three accounts as debts.³⁴²

Officials in Surrey paid the treasury a total of £66 7s 3d for these accounts throughout the period. The crown issued pardons for accounts levied on assarts and related offenses that totaled £41 3s 6d.

Sussex, 1179-1187

Roger FitzRenfrid first reported assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Sussex in

³³⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 84.

³⁴⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 85.

³⁴¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 153.

³⁴²Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 236; vol. 36, 195; vol. 37, 212.

1179. The account he reported was a debt of £8 11s 8d for fees assessed by Thomas FitzBernard.³⁴³ He carried this sum as a debt again in 1180.³⁴⁴ Carrying the sum forth in 1181, Roger FitzRenfrid reported an active account of £8 11s 8d, of which he paid £6 11s 8d. A pardon extended to the archbishop of Canterbury for £2 cleared the account.³⁴⁵

The next report from Sussex came in 1185, when Roger FitzRenfrid reported an account of £2 18s 6d for assarts and related offenses. He paid the treasury £1 9s, leaving a debt of £1 9s 6d.³⁴⁶ He carried this sum as a debt in 1186.³⁴⁷ In 1187, he reported the account as active, and paid the Exchequer 9s 6d, leaving a debt of £1 for his last report concerning illegal land clearance during Henry II's reign.³⁴⁸

Funds collected by the treasury from these accounts in Sussex totaled £8 10s 2d, while the crown issued the one pardon noted, for £2.

Warwickshire and Leicestershire, 1166-1187

The first sheriff of report on assarts in Warwickshire and Leicestershire was William Basset. In 1166, he rendered his first account concerning assarts, which totaled 17s 6d collected for assarts in Stanley. Basset paid this amount to the treasury in full. The next two

³⁴³Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 37.

³⁴⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 31.

³⁴⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 144.

³⁴⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 171.

³⁴⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 182.

³⁴⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 108.

years, he made identical reports and identical payments.³⁴⁹ In 1169, he reported an account for assarts in Stanley that totaled 22s 6d, which he paid in full.³⁵⁰

The sheriff's office changed hands in 1170, probably as a matter of course following Henry II's Inquest of Sheriffs. The new man in Warwickshire and Leicestershire was Bertrand de Verdun, who would hold the position, sometimes with a man named Arnold de Barton, until 1185. In his first year as sheriff, Bertrand de Verdun reported two accounts concerning assarts and illegal land clearance. The first account totaled 25s 6d for assarts in Stanley, 3s more than the account reported the previous year by Basset. Verdun paid the account in full.³⁵¹ His next account, for assarts and waste in the forest of Leicester, totaled £6 2s 8d. He paid £4 8s. Basset reported that Richard de Camville received a pardon of £1 6s 4d, and that Reginald FitzUrse received a pardon of 8s 4d. His payment to the treasury and the two pardons, cleared the account.³⁵²

In his reports to the Exchequer from September 1171 through September 1177, Bertrand de Verdun annually reported an account of 29s for assarts, and annually he paid the account in full. All of these reports were associated with infractions in the area known as Stanley.³⁵³ The regular amount reported each year implies that he was accounting for rents on

³⁴⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 9, 69; vol. 11, 163; vol. 12, 57.

³⁵⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 13, 25.

³⁵¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 86.

³⁵²Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 89.

³⁵³Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 92; vol. 18, 107; vol. 19, 179; vol. 20, 140; vol. 22, 90; vol. 25, 179; vol. 26, 26.

lands for which he was responsible as sheriff, rather than new activity, which one would expect to fluctuate. In addition, in 1173 he reported an account of £2 for assarts levied on men who held assarts in Stanley. He paid 13s 4d to the treasury. This left an outstanding debt of £1 6s 8d.³⁵⁴

In 1178, he again reported two accounts. The first account, which he paid in full, totaled 19s for assarts in Stanley.³⁵⁵ Why the rents in Stanley would have dropped 10s is not known, but that would appear to have been the case. The second account, levied in his jurisdiction by Thomas FitzBernard, totaled £11 11s 6d for assarts and waste. For this account, Verdun paid the treasury £9 5s 6d, leaving a debt of £2 6s.³⁵⁶ The following year Bertrand de Verdun again reported an account of 29s for assarts in Stanley, which he paid in full.³⁵⁷

In 1180, Bertrand de Verdun acquired partners to help him run the office of sheriff of Warwick and Leicestershire. Arnold de Barton and Adam de Audley appear as his associates for the remainder of his tenure. The first year of their partnership, they reported an account of £1 16s for assarts and waste assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. They paid 12s, leaving a debt of 24s.³⁵⁸

The three sheriffs reported three accounts concerning illegal land clearance in 1181.

³⁵⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 181.

³⁵⁵Pipe Rolls, vol., 27, 77.

³⁵⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 82.

³⁵⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 110.

³⁵⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 100.

The first account was the standby account of 29s for Stanley, which they paid in full. Second they reported a debt of 24s for assarts and waste assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. This was likely the debt which remained from the previous year. The third account totaled 6s for the profits from the assarts of Stanley. They paid this account in full.³⁵⁹

In 1182, Bertrand de Verdun and Arnold de Barton reported only the debt of 24s, which they carried on an account for assarts and waste that had been levied by Thomas FitzBernard.³⁶⁰ The following year they reported an account of 24s, apparently carried forward from the debt owed on Thomas FitzBernard's activities in Leicestershire. They reported a pardon granted to the monks of Beaulieu for 24s, which cleared the account.³⁶¹ The next year they again reported the account for assarts in Stanley of 29s, which they paid in full.³⁶²

Verdun and Barton reported an account of £2 18s for assarts and related forest crimes in Leicestershire in 1185. They paid the treasury £2 13s, leaving a debt of 5s to the crown. The same year the prior of LaLanda reported in the Exchequer account of Warwickshire and Leicestershire that he owed 25s for assarts. He paid the treasury 12s, leaving a debt of 13s.³⁶³

A new sheriff took over the duties in 1186. Michael Belet reported three accounts concerning assarts and other illegal forest activities in Warwickshire and Leicestershire that

³⁵⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 73, 75, 79.

³⁶⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 93.

³⁶¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 35.

³⁶²Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 43.

³⁶³Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 103.

year. The first account was 29s for assarts. Although this was mixed in with several other accounts, the totaled remaining for the lump of account indicates that the account on assarts was paid in full.³⁶⁴ The second account totaled 5s, of which Belet paid 4s, leaving a debt of 12d for assarts and related offenses in Leicestershire.³⁶⁵ The sum of the third account was 13s, and was the debt left by the prior of LaLanda the year before. This account was paid in full.³⁶⁶

The last accounts concerning assarts and land clearance in Warwick and Leicestershire during the reign of Henry II were reported in 1187. Michael Belet made three reports again that year. The first report, part of a lump account which he paid in full, totaled 29s for assarts.³⁶⁷ The second account was a debt of 12s on assarts and other forest infractions, left from the previous year.³⁶⁸ Third, Belet reported an account of £7 19s for assarts and related crimes in Leicestershire, which he paid in full.³⁶⁹

Between 1166 and 1187 officials in Warwickshire and Leicestershire collected and paid to the Exchequer a total of £78 4s 4d for fines levied on assarts and related crimes. The crown issued pardons in those territories that totaled £2 18s 8d.

³⁶⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 126.

³⁶⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 131.

³⁶⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 131.

³⁶⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 115.

³⁶⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 117.

³⁶⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 119.

Wiltshire, 1171-1188

As with many counties, perhaps due to the 1170 Inquest of Sheriffs, Wiltshire's sheriff first reported assarting activity in 1171. That year, Richard de Wilton reported fines worth £15 10s 2d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid the treasury £9 10s 2d, and reported that the crown had extended pardons to William FitzHam for £1 6s 8d and to Thomas Basset for 6s 8d. Thus, Wiltshire was left in the red £4 6s 8d.³⁷⁰ In 1172 and 1173 Richard de Wilton carried these accounts as debt, noting specifically one year that the offenses had taken place in the forest of Wiltshire.³⁷¹

Richard de Wilton rendered the account active when he reported the sum of £4 6s 8d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in 1174. He paid £2, reducing his debt to the crown to £2 6s 8d.³⁷² Richard reported a second account in that year, which was a debt of £124 15s 8d for assarts and related crimes.³⁷³

The following year, Richard again reported only one account. He carried forth the account that totaled £2 6s 8d. He paid 6s 8d and reported a pardon extended to Richard, bishop of Winchester for £2, which cleared the debt.³⁷⁴

The sheriff of Wiltshire made no report concerning assarts in 1176, and in 1177 Richard de Wilton reported only a debt of £12 10s 10d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the

³⁷⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 22.

³⁷¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 126; vol. 19, 100.

³⁷²Pipe Rolls, vol. 21, 32.

³⁷³Pipe Rolls, vol 21, 35.

³⁷⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 102.

forest levied by Alan de Neville and his band of foresters.³⁷⁵ Richard brought this account forth as active in 1178. He paid the treasury 6s 8d, reducing the debt to £12 4s 2d.³⁷⁶ In addition, he reported a second account in debt that totaled £2 16s for fines on assarts and related activities.³⁷⁷

Richard de Wilton reported two accounts in 1179. The first account carried over from the previous year and was recorded as a debt of £12 4s 2d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Alan de Neville. The second was a debt of £3 1s for assarts and purprestures in the royal forest of Wiltshire.³⁷⁸

The next year brought a new sheriff to the administration of Wiltshire, as well as three reports concerning assarts. Robert Malduit took over as sheriff, and carried forth the debts of £12 4s 2d and £3 1s from 1170. New for 1180 was an account in debt £38 15s 6d for fines on assarts and related crimes.³⁷⁹

In 1181 Robert Malduit reported only the debt of £12 4s 2d.³⁸⁰ The next year he reported debts of £3 1s, carried over from two years previous, and a debt of £5 11s 8d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.³⁸¹ These two accounts were carried over to 1183, the

³⁷⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 99.

³⁷⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 29.

³⁷⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 30.

³⁷⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 58.

³⁷⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 119-120 and 122.

³⁸⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 95.

³⁸¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 86.

first as debt, and the second as an active account, toward which Robert Malduit paid 8s, reducing the debt to £5 3s 8d.³⁸² In 1184 these two accounts disappeared and the sheriff reported only a debt of £1 13s for fines on assarts and related crimes in the royal forest of Wiltshire.³⁸³

Robert Malduit carried forth his account of £1 13s to the next year when he paid 15s to the treasury, reducing the debt to 18s.³⁸⁴ He further reported an account of £23 3d for assarts and related infractions. He paid £15 4d and reported that Gilbert de Meleford had received a pardon of 5s for his activities in the same area. This left the sheriff with a debt to the Exchequer of £7 14s 11d.³⁸⁵ Also in 1185, the monks of Farleigh reported a debt of £1 17s for fines on assarts in Heuedlingeilla in the forest of Wiltshire.³⁸⁶

The following year, Robert Malduit carried forth his debt of 18s.³⁸⁷ His second account carried forward from the previous year as a total of £7 14s 11d for assarts and related crimes. He paid 17s 5d, leaving a debt of £6 17s 6d.³⁸⁸ The monastery of Farleigh reported an increased account of £1 17s 6d. They reported that they had received a pardon for £1 10s,

³⁸²Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 127-128.

³⁸³Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 93.

³⁸⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 190.

³⁸⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 194.

³⁸⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 193.

³⁸⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 160.

³⁸⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 163.

which left them in debt to the crown 7s 6d.³⁸⁹

Robert Malduit made his last reports as sheriff of Wiltshire in 1187. At that time he carried forth his debt of 18s on assarts and related offenses.³⁹⁰ He reported a second account that totaled £5 1s 8d for assarts and related crimes. He paid the treasury £2, reducing the debt to £3 1s 4d.³⁹¹

The last reports concerning assarting during the reign of Henry II were made by a new sheriff in 1188. Hugo Bardulf reported a debt of 18s carried forth from the previous year; a debt of 5s 8d for fines that Alan de Neville assessed on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest; and an account which totaled £3 1s 4d, also carried over from the previous year. Toward the third account he paid £1 14s 2d, reducing the debt to the crown to £1 7s 2d.³⁹²

Officials in Wiltshire paid the treasury a total of £32 18s 9d for accounts levied on assarts and related activities. The king extended pardons to some offenders worth a total of £5 8s 4d. The Wiltshire record shows some inconsistencies in bookkeeping, which were very unusual for the Exchequer. The county saw very little activity on the part of foresters, and in the instances that it did the forester was Alan de Neville, never Thomas FitzBernard.

Worcestershire, 1170-1187

The sheriff of Worcestershire, William de Beauchamp, first reported assarting activity

³⁸⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 162.

³⁹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 174.

³⁹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 176.

³⁹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 38, 137-138.

in 1170, when he rendered an account of £84 1s 8d for fines levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. He paid the treasury £77 10s. The abbot of St. Augustine of Bristol received a pardon of £2 5s, the archbishop of Scotland received a pardon of 6s 8d, and the monks of Bordesley received a pardon of 13s 4d. This left William with a debt to the treasury of £3 6s 8d.³⁹³

This debt carried over to 1171, when the new sheriff, Ranulph de Lench, paid it in full.³⁹⁴ Another new sheriff, Alard de Banastre, reported a debt of 13s 4d for fines on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in 1172.³⁹⁵ A gap then exists in the record concerning assarts in Worcestershire for six years.

Michael Belet was sheriff of Worcestershire in 1178 when he reported fines assessed by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts and waste that totaled £47 13s 4d. Michael paid £19 16s 6d, leaving a debt of £27 16s 10d.³⁹⁶ He carried this debt over to 1179, when he paid the treasury another 10s, reducing the debt to £27 6s 10d.³⁹⁷

Worcestershire reported two accounts in 1180. Michael Belet carried forth the debt of £27 6s 10d from the previous year, and again entered the account as a debt. In addition, he reported a larger debt of £40 11s 4d for fines which had been assessed on assarts and related

³⁹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 56.

³⁹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 98.

³⁹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 20.

³⁹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 45.

³⁹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 94.

activities in his jurisdiction.³⁹⁸

The former account carried over as debt in 1181, but no mention was made of the latter account. In 1182, however, both accounts were reported again. The first account, totaled £27 6s 10d for fines on assarts and waste levied by Thomas FitzBernard. Michael Belet paid the Exchequer £2 17s 4d, reducing the debt to £24 9s 6d.³⁹⁹ The second account totaled £40 11s 4d, of which he paid £22 4d. This left a debt to the treasury of £18 11s.⁴⁰⁰

The following year, Michael Belet carried forth a debt of £24 9s 6d,⁴⁰¹ and reported the second account that totaled £18 11s as active. He paid £6 4s 8d on the second account, reducing the shire's debt to the crown to £12 6s 4d.⁴⁰²

Both accounts carried forth to 1184. The account of £24 9s 6d again appeared as debt.⁴⁰³ Michael paid the treasury £2 13s 2d toward the second account, and reported a pardon extended to the monastery of Chokhille for 3s, reducing the balance from £12 6s 4d to £9 13s 2d.⁴⁰⁴

The following year was much more active. Michael carried forth his usual two accounts. The first remained a debt of £24 9s 6d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest

³⁹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 78 and 80.

³⁹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 78.

⁴⁰⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 80.

⁴⁰¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 131.

⁴⁰²Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 133.

⁴⁰³Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 64.

⁴⁰⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 65.

assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. The second, which totaled £9 13s 2d, Michael reported as active, and he paid another £1 4s 2d to the treasury, leaving the debt at £8 8s 10d.⁴⁰⁵ He also entered a new debt of £13 15s 6d for fines assessed on assarts,⁴⁰⁶ and a second account that totaled £4 12s 7d for assarts. He paid the second account in full.⁴⁰⁷ Finally, the abness of Pershore reported a debt of £1 owed for assarts.⁴⁰⁸

In 1186, a new sheriff, Robert Marmion, reported the old debt of £24 9s 10d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, and what appears to be a new debt of £23 15s 6d for assarts. He rendered a third account of £8 8s 10d for assarts, waste, pleas, and purprestures in the forest of Worcestershire, which carried over from the previous. He paid the treasury 6s 8d, leaving a balance of £8 2s 2d. Finally, the abness of Pershore again reported a debt of £1 for assarts.⁴⁰⁹

Robert Marmion carried forth the same three accounts in 1187, the last year any assarts were recorded in Worcestershire during the reign of Henry II. The first account totaled £24 9s 6d, of which Robert paid 6s 8d, reducing the debt to the treasury to £24 2s 10d. The other accounts came forth as debts of £8 2s 2d and £23 15s 6d.⁴¹⁰ He reported a new account that totaled £26 13s 11d assessed on assarts. He paid the crown £7 13s. This left

⁴⁰⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 119-120.

⁴⁰⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 122.

⁴⁰⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 124.

⁴⁰⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 122.

⁴⁰⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 38-39.

⁴¹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 216-217.

him a debt to the Exchequer of £19 11d.⁴¹¹ The abbess of Pershore brought forth her account of £1, which she paid in full, clearing her account.⁴¹²

Officials from Worcestershire paid the crown a total of £149 15s 3d from the monies they collected from fines levied on assarts and related offenses. The crown extended £3 8s in pardons to some offenders.

Yorkshire, 1170-1187

Yorkshire first appears in the annals of assarting and illegal land clearance in 1163, when Sheriff Bertram de Bulem reported an account of £1 6s 8d for fines levied on assarts at Michaelmas. He paid the fines for offenses assessed in Calueton and Gernag (Wakefield and Jersey) in full.⁴¹³

The Exchequer recorded its next account concerning assarts in Yorkshire in 1167, when the prioress of Bardsey reported that her house owed £1 for assarts in Yorkshire. The sisters paid their debt in full.⁴¹⁴

By 1170, Sheriff Robert de Stuteville reported one of the largest accounts for assarting and related crimes recorded, £217 5s 6d. Stuteville himself paid the treasury £182 15s 9d, and reported that the crown had extended several pardons on the account: Henry de Lacy received a pardon of £6 13s 4d, the abbey of Byland received a pardon of 25s, the abbey

⁴¹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 219.

⁴¹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 217.

⁴¹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 6, 60.

⁴¹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 11, 94.

Kirkstall received a pardon of £7 10s, and Stephan de Turnofra received a pardon of 6s 8d. This left the account in debt to the crown £18 14s 9d. Rendering a second report on this account, Stuteville contributed another £16 14s 9d to the account, leaving a final debt of 40s.⁴¹⁵

In 1171, Robert de Stuteville reported one account of 40s. He paid the treasury 6s 8d, leaving a debt of 33s 4d. He made reports concerning assarts in three of the next four years, and he continually reported a debt of 33s 4d for assarts, waste, and related crimes.⁴¹⁶ This pattern continued when Ranulf de Glanville became sheriff in 1176, but change came in 1177 when, in addition to his usual reported debt, Stuteville reported a second account of 35s 4d for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph. He paid 7s, leaving a debt of 28s 4d.⁴¹⁷

The next year in addition to the debt of 33s 4d, Glanville reported an account of 28s 4d, of which he paid 4s, leaving a debt of 24s 4d.⁴¹⁸ In a third account, Glanville reported an hefty sum of £87 17s 8d levied on assarts and waste in the forest of Yorkshire. He reported that Alan, Canon of Yorkshire, received a pardon of £2 10s, and the monks of Kirkstall received a pardon of 3s 6d. Glanville's own payment of £85 4s 2d cleared the account.⁴¹⁹

In his reports of 1179, 1181, and 1182, Glanville reported one debt of 33s 4d and one

⁴¹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 41.

⁴¹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 67; vol. 18, 59; vol. 19, 7; vol. 22, 169.

⁴¹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 102; vol. 26, 70.

⁴¹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 65, 66.

⁴¹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 70.

debt of 24s 4d (which is sometimes noted as being levied by Alan de Neville, et al.), and never paid anything to the treasury on these accounts.⁴²⁰ In 1183, he reported the running debt of 33s 4d, but reported the other account as a total of 24s 4d, of which he paid 12d, reducing the debt to 23s 4d.⁴²¹ The following year, he made a payment of 2s on the account of 23s 4d levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville and Robert Mantel, leaving a debt of 21s 4d, as well as reporting the debt of 33s 4d, also noted as having assessed through Alan de Neville.⁴²²

From 1185-1187, Glanville reported only the debt of 21s 4d, owed for fines on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest which had been assessed by Alan de Neville and Robert Mantel.⁴²³ The accounts concerning assarts and forest offenses in Yorkshire during the reign of Henry II end with the Michaelmas report to the Exchequer in 1187.

Officials in Yorkshire collected and paid to the treasury £287 3s 8d from accounts levied on assarts and related offenses between 1170 and 1187. The crown issued pardons on these accounts that totaled £18 8s 6d.

Sorting the data by shire leads to a significantly different picture than the chronological discussion. While the chronological discussion clearly shows increasing royal activity in the country, at the same time it gives the impression that royal officials levied a great many fines. In contrast, this alternate examination reveals that what appeared to be

⁴²⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 17, 18; vol. 30, 36; vol. 31, 38.

⁴²¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 48, 49.

⁴²²Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 32.

⁴²³Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 64; vol. 36, 96; vol. 37, 88.

frequently assessed fines were in reality often fines carried over from year to year. The counties with the most activity tend to be located near London and Winchester. These areas were heavily forested in the twelfth century, but royal forests existed all over England and these areas do not reflect proportional activity. In all likelihood, the reality of the day was that being further from the seats of power meant less frequent visits from royal officials.

INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS PARDONED FOR ASSARTING

Throughout the course of King Henry II's reign, the crown granted hundreds of pardons to individuals who owed the Exchequer money for assarts, crimes related to illegal land clearance, and infractions on the forest. The greatest number, over one hundred ninety, occurred between 1170 and 1179 (see APPENDIX C). The total number of pardons granted in the previous decade and the following decade adds up to less than half the number granted in the 1170s. The reason for this is most likely related to the heavy growth of government that appears to have occurred in the 1170s following various assizes of the mid- to late-1160s and the Inquest of Sheriffs in 1170. This was also a period of rebellion in England, and an increase in the pardons issued could be the result of political payoffs on the part of the crown and in some cases it may be that the crown pardoned fines that had initially been issued to its enemies in vengeance. The period also corresponds to the overall increases noted in the numbers of assarts and related offenses reported by sheriffs.

As royal officials honed their skills and made more frequent trips into the countryside, they no doubt discovered increasing numbers of offenses in all areas, and forest infractions were no exception. It is difficult to say with certainty why some people received pardons for infractions and others were forced to pay, and one must remain constantly aware that the nature of the evidence is not general but specific to particular kinds of offenses. Nevertheless, as one reads the evidence under the light of the general background of the development of Angevin government, two possibilities rise to the surface. The first is a somewhat cynical notion, based upon the assessment of Henry II by historians since the early twentieth century. This is that Henry simply forgave the infractions of his friends and those to whom he owed

some larger debt. Certainly, as we shall see, many of those who received a pardon or pardons by order of the king can be classified as his men. They appear all over the kingdom engaged in all kinds of activities, from acting as witnesses to service as a sheriffs, from justices in eyre to barons of the Exchequer. In addition many of those named in pardons are monasteries or churches. Certainly, after the murder of Archbishop Thomas Becket in late December 1170 by thugs who the church charged were on a mission from the crown, Henry's contrition may have curbed his usually businesslike attitude toward the ecclesiastical element of his kingdom.

It is possible to take a practical rather than a cynical approach to the problem of pardons. The infant bureaucracy provided a great deal of information to the crown, and it became obvious that a great many people owed the crown a great many pounds for their past sins. The collection of this money, however, was not easy. Many of those who owed money were indeed friends of the crown and/or members of the ecclesiastical establishment, but they were often also what could be termed "major players." As friends, they were probably not men that Henry II wished to push around, but as political opponents they were assuredly not the kind of men that he could easily bend to his will at any given moment. For all his skill as a diplomat and a leader, we must remember that Henry II was nothing like an absolute monarch. The men he had to pressure on to pay their debts were in many cases the same men he simultaneously relied on to run his kingdom during his long absences and to collect the outstanding debts. Some probably would not pay, others probably would not collect. Some serving as sheriffs, who were responsible to the Exchequer for the outstanding sum, no doubt wanted to oblige the crown and clear their accounts, but faced with more powerful noble debtors they were likely not able to collect and therefore they had no means to pay the debt.

Thus, it is quite possible that the large number of pardons granted during the 1170s represents a royal attempt to clear the Exchequer's slate and start from zero. In this sense, the word "pardon" takes a more literal meaning, but it is perfectly reasonable to think that the rash of pardons could have been the king clearing his books, granting many a kind of amnesty or a reprieve for the sake of bookkeeping and in the name of getting on with governing.

All of this is not to say that who was pardoned is not important, because even if accounts were cleared for the sake of bookkeeping, who the pardonee was can tell us something about the rationale for the pardons. Because of this fact, when possible, additional information about the pardoned individuals is provided below to add some perspective on the pardonee's relationship with the crown and/or royal officials. Note also that there is a cluster of pardons in the 1170s that may indicate a royal attempt to "clear the books," but it does not tell us why some people received a pardon and so many others did not.

To approach the heart of this matter, this discussion will examine exactly who received pardons, and what relationship, if any, they had either directly to the crown or to the royal officials enforcing the royal will. The best way to approach is to take each pardonee in turn. It might seem logical to examine the data chronologically to determine who was pardoned before, during, and after the decade of the 1170s, but studying the information in this manner would produce a confusing narrative, because many of those pardoned were pardoned over time, not necessarily only in the decade of the greatest number of pardons. Rather, let us approach the data one individual at a time and, for lack of a better method, alphabetically. By coincidence, the first several men who received pardons with surnames beginning with an A were all in Essex and Hertfordshire in the 1170s or early 1180s.

Derkin de Acre received a pardon in conjunction with Henry de Kemesech in 1171. The pair received a pardon of £2 12s 10d for their part of fines levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville in the forest of Essex. Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, Robert Mantel, reported this along with other pardons to the Exchequer.¹

Eude FitzAernis received a pardon of £2 in 1181 for his part of a fine levied on assarts, waste, and related crimes in the forest of Essex. This was one of several pardons in the Essex and Hertford account reported that year by Robert Mantel in his role as sheriff.² Eude FitzAernis may be considered typical of the type of men one finds among the pardons the crown granted for assarts. He moved in the same circles as men such as the bishops of Worcester, Rouen, and Bayeux, Earl William de Mandeville and Richard de Humez, Constable of Normandy.³ Although in 1173 he had been named as one of the Young King's foreign partisans in the rebellion, he attested to the terms of peace settled on at Mont Louis by Henry II, Louis VII, and the Princes Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey in September 1174 when they were written up that October at Falaise.⁴ In 1177, Robert Mantel reported that the crown had extended another pardon for fines on assarts and related activities to Eude FitzAernis. This pardon totaled £3.⁵

¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 124.

²Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 106.

³R. W. Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II instancing also the Chief Agents and Adversaries of the King in his Government, Diplomacy, and Strategy* (London: Taylor and Co. or Cornhill, Dorchester: James Foster), 1878: 157-158.

⁴Eyton, 172n and 185.

⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

The king's Chamberlain Ailward received a pardon of 16s by royal order in 1177 for his part of a fine in Essex and Hertford on assarts, waste, and related offenses. Again the sheriff reported multiple pardons.⁶

Alberic, noted as being an earl, received a royal pardon of £6 13s 4d for his part of an account due for assarts waste and pleas of the forest in 1176. Robert Mantel was again the sheriff who brought this an other pardons to the treasury in September.⁷

Richard FitzAlcher received a letter of pardon for £1 2s for his part of an account owed on assarts, waste, and related crimes in Essex and Herford in 1177. He was one of several pardons reported by Robert Mantel.⁸

William FitzAldelini, dapifer, received two pardons for accounts levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest, toward which he owed money in 1176. The first pardon was for 3s for offenses in the forest of Essex. The second was a pardon of 9s 8d. Robert Mantel reported the pardon at the Exchequer.⁹

The church and monastery of Amesbury received pardons in 1182 and 1186 for its part in offenses related to illegal land clearance. Hugo de St. Germanus reported the first pardon in his sheriff's report to the treasury for Berkshire in 1182. The church received a pardon by order of the crown of 2s on a account levied by Thomas FitzBernard.¹⁰ In 1186

⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 4.

⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 3 and 4.

¹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 106.

Geoffrey FitzAze, sheriff of Southamptonshire, reported that the church had received a pardon for 6s on an account in his jurisdiction.¹¹ As noted above, churches, abbeys, and clergymen appear frequently in the record of royal pardons, no doubt in part because of the Becket murder, but also because of the political sway they had. Many churchmen came from the aristocracy and could call in favors based not only on their ecclesiastical clout but on the relationships between aristocratic and royal families. In addition the considerable wealth of the Roman church made it a formidable foe, even for a king, and as such the organization was both worth courting through favors and cooperation as well as a force that may have been perceived as easier given into than fought over little matters such as fines for forest infractions.

Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, Nicholas Clericus, reported to the Exchequer a pardon extended to Arnulf de Ardragh in 1169. The pardon was for £2 for Arnulf's part of a fine for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. It was one of multiple pardons extended to an account levied by Alan de Neville.¹²

Walkelin FitzBaldwin received a pardon of £6 10s for his part of a fine on assarts and waste in 1178. Thomas FitzBernard, serving as sheriff of Northamptonshire, reported the pardon at the Exchequer at Michaelmas along with other pardons.¹³

William Malduit, sheriff of Rutland, reported in 1181 that Roger Barre had produced a pardon of 4s for his of an account for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. It was one of

¹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 172.

¹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 13, 127.

¹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 54.

two fines Malduit reported on an account levied by Thomas FitzBernard.¹⁴ According to a charter dated at Rouen, the previous year Roger Barre had received a grant from Richard de Humez. It was attested by William FitzRalph, Seneschal of Normandy, and Bertrand de Verdun.¹⁵

Sheriff of Wiltshire, Richard de Wilton reported that Thomas Basset had received a pardon from the crown of 6s 8d for his share of an account of assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. This was one of multiple pardons Richard de Wilton reported at the Exchequer meeting in 1171.¹⁶ Thomas Basset was active in royal affairs between 1163 and 1180, and is found regularly serving as a witness and in other capacities during Henry's reign.¹⁷

In Hampshire, William Bastard received a pardon of £5 in 1176. Hugo de Gundeville reported the pardon, along with others, for an account of assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Alan de Neville and his crew of foresters.¹⁸ Two years before, William Bastard had served the crown as an assessor with Sheriff of Hampshire Hugo de Gundeville and assessors Hamo Morgan and Matthew de Escuris, to collect the tax levied after the rebellion on the lands of the late rebels.¹⁹

The crown granted the monks of Beaulieu a pardon of £1 4s for their part of a fine for

¹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 80.

¹⁵Eyton, 234.

¹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 22.

¹⁷Eyton, 130-273 *passim*.

¹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 191.

¹⁹Eyton, 184-185.

assarts and waste levied in Leicestershire by Thomas FitzBernard. Bertrand de Verdun and Arnold de Barton reported the pardon as joint sheriffs of Warwickshire and Leicestershire in 1183.²⁰

The monastery of Bec in France benefited several times from royal pardons. The monks at Bec received a pardon of 6s 8d for their part of an account for assarts reported by Simon FitzPeter, who served as sheriff of Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire in 1160. It was one of multiple pardons he reported.²¹ The next pardon came a decade later in 1170 when the crown forgave Bec £2 of its part of an account for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. Hugo de Gundeville, sheriff of Hampshire, noted the pardon in his report to the Exchequer.²² In 1175 the abbey received a pardon of £13 6s 8d for its part of a debt for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in Hampshire. Sheriff Hugo de Gundeville reported the account, which had been assessed by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRadulf.²³ In 1179, the monks received three pardons. Thomas FitzBernard reported a pardon of 2s granted to the monastery on an account for assarts and waste in the forest of Northampton in his jurisdiction in Northamptonshire. The sheriff of Dorset and Somerset, Robert de Beauchamp, reported a pardon of 6s 8d extended to the monastery for its part of an account on assarts and related crimes in his territory. Finally, Hugo de Gundeville, sheriff in Southamptonshire, reported a pardon of £1 10s given to the monks for their part of an

²⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 32, 35.

²¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 37.

²²Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 125.

²³Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 193.

account assessed for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest that had been assessed by Alan de Neville.²⁴

In 1177, John, a monk of Bedmannesberg, received a pardon of 18s. Robert Mantel reported this with other pardons as part of an account for assarts, waste, and related offenses that he reported to the Exchequer as sheriff of Essex and Hertford.²⁵

The abbey of Begeland reported a pardon of £1 5s for part of its responsibility toward an account of assarts and related offenses in Yorkshire in 1170. Sheriff Robert de Stuteville reported this as part of an account with multiple pardons.²⁶

Sheriffs Geoffrey de Verdun and William Clericus reported a pardon extended to the abbey of Beldewas of £3 6s 8d on an account for assarts and waste, for which they reported multiple pardons. The sheriffs made their report for Shropshire in 1170.²⁷

The ecclesiastical establishment of Bell received three pardons between 1171 and 1181. In 1171, Sheriff of Essex and Hertford Robert Mantel reported that the Abbey of Bell received a pardon of 10s to help clear its part of an account levied by Alan de Neville and his associates on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Essex.²⁸ In Surrey, Sheriff Gervase de Cornhill reported that the church of Bell received a pardon of 6s 8d to clear part of its debt on an account for assarts and waste in 1178. It was one of multiple pardons he

²⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 64, 68, and 103.

²⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

²⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 41.

²⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 133.

²⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 124.

reported.²⁹ Robert Mantel noted that the Abbot of Bell had received a pardon of 4s to erase part of his debt for an account of assarts, waste, and related offenses in the forest of Essex, when he made his report to the Exchequer in 1181.³⁰

Robert Bertram received a pardon of £2 6s 8d in 1175 for his part of an account levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph. Sheriff of Hampshire Hugo de Gundeville reported the pardon as one of multiple pardons at the Exchequer.³¹ According to Eyton's Itinerary, Robert Bertram was active in royal service between 1157 and 1174 as a witness of charters, agreements between the kings of the English and the Scots.³²

The monks of Bittlesden received a pardon of £1 6s 8d in 1160. Simon FitzPeter reported this as one of multiple pardons as part of an account for assarts at his report at the Exchequer that September.³³

In 1175, Sheriff Alfred de Lincoln reported that Osbert de Bickel had received a pardon of 3s 2d to clear an account levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.³⁴ Two years later Sheriff Robert de Beauchamp noted in his report to the Exchequer on Dorset and Somerset that Osbert de Bickel had received a pardon of £1 6d for his part of a debt assessed

²⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 134.

³⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 106.

³¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 193.

³²Eyton, 32, 35, 177, and 186.

³³Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 37.

³⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 24.

on assarts and related offenses in Somerset.³⁵

The crown granted William de Blythe a pardon of 7s 6d for his part of a debt owed for assarts and related offenses in Essex and Hertfordshire. Robert Mantel reported the pardon at the Michaelmas 1177 meeting of the Exchequer.³⁶

The monastery of Bordesley reported a pardon of 13s 4d to help clear its part of a debt for assarts, waste and pleas of the forest in 1170. William de Beauchamp cited the pardon in his report to the treasury as sheriff of Worcestershire.³⁷

The ecclesiastical establishment of Bristol received two pardons for its part in assarting activities during the 1170s. In 1170 the abbey of St. Augustine of Bristol received a pardon of £2 5s for its part of an account for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. Sheriff of Worcestershire William de Beauchamp reported this pardon.³⁸ William FitzStephen, sheriff of Gloucestershire, reported that the monks of St. James of Bristol received a pardon of £4 10s for its part of an account on assarts and waste levied by Thomas FitzBernard. It was one of multiple pardons he reported at the Exchequer in September 1178.³⁹

Hugo de Gundeville reported that Ranulph Broch received one pardon of 3s and a second of £1 5s for his part in an account on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest of Hampshire. These were part of multiple pardons concerning assarting that Gundeville

³⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 20.

³⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

³⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 56.

³⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 56.

³⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 59.

reported in his capacity as sheriff of Hampshire in 1170.⁴⁰ Five years later Ranulph Broch received two more pardons for fines on assarts and related offense that had been levied by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph. Hugo de Gundeville as sheriff of Northamptonshire and Hampshire reported the pardons of 12s and £1, respectively.⁴¹

Ranulph Broch had been active in the king's service since 1158 and probably deserved to be pardoned for his offenses if anyone did. It was Broch who was appointed *custos* of the See of Canterbury in 1165 after King Henry had driven Archbishop Thomas Becket to exile, and it was Broch, along with Hugh St. Clare, and Thomas FitzBernard whom Becket excommunicated in Vézelay on June 12, 1166, for usurping the goods and possessions of the church of Canterbury.⁴²

In Oxfordshire, William Caisneto twice received royal pardons for assarts and related activity. Sheriff Alard Banastre reported the first pardon of 6s 8d in 1171 for Caisneto's part in fines levied on assarts, waste, and related offenses.⁴³ The second instance occurred in 1178 when Sheriff Robert de Tureville reported a pardon of £1 10s extended jointly to Caisneto and Ralph de Verdun for fines on assarts and waste.⁴⁴ William de Caisneto had been around the royal court since 1155, serving as witness alongside men such as Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, the earls of Cornwall and of Leicester, Richard de Humez, and Thomas Becket, the

⁴⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 125.

⁴¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 43 and 193.

⁴²Eyton, 77 and 94. See also, 33, 34, 120, 151, 152, 172, 177, 198.

⁴³Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 134.

⁴⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 120.

Chancellor.⁴⁵

Roger de Calz received a pardon of £3 10s in 1178 for his part of a fine on assarts and waste in Northamptonshire. Thomas FitzBernard reported the fine at the Exchequer.⁴⁶

Nicholas Clericus reported that Anselm Campdauen received a pardon of £8 3s 8d which forgave his share of a debt on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Alan de Neville. This pardon was one of multiple pardons Nicholas reported as sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire at Michaelmas 1169.⁴⁷

Richard de Camville received a pardon in 1170 for fines on assarts and waste in the forest of Leicester. The pardon of £1 6s 4d was reported by sheriff of Warwick and Leicestershire, Bertrand de Verdun.⁴⁸ Richard de Camville received another pardon of £2 in 1175 for his part of fines on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. Hugo de Bokeland reported the pardon as sheriff of Berkshire.⁴⁹ Richard de Camville frequently appears as a witness in charters and in service to Henry the Young King. He may have been among the rebels in 1173, but remains active in service to King Henry for many years after that.⁵⁰

Gerard de Camville received a pardon of 8s in 1177 for his part of fines on assarts and related pleas levied by Thomas FitzBernard. Sheriff of Berkshire Hugo de St. Germanus

⁴⁵Eyton, 9, and 26. See also 25n, 27, 34, 44, 53, 60, 68, 85, 111.

⁴⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 54.

⁴⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 13, 127.

⁴⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 89.

⁴⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 135.

⁵⁰Eyton, 6-204, *passim*.

reported the pardon to the treasury.⁵¹ Gerard de Camville appears as a witness in the royal record alongside men such as the Bishops of Rouen, Bayeux, and Winchester, Earl William de Mandeville,⁵²

Sheriff Roger FitzRenfrid reported that the archbishop of Canterbury received a pardon of £2 in 1181 for his part of fines on assarts and pleas of the forest levied by Thomas FitzBernard in Sussex.⁵³

In 1181, Sheriff of Northamptonshire Thomas FitzBernard reported a pardon received by Nicholas Capellano. The pardon of 3s cleared a debt for assarts and related crimes that had apparently been levied by Thomas FitzBernard in his role as a forester.⁵⁴ As one of the king's chaplains, Nicholas the King's Chaplain was on hand to serve as witness and in other capacities between 1165-1186. Notably, he served as sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire between Michaelmas 1164 and Easter 1169.⁵⁵

Alice Capre received a pardon of £2 in 1171 forgiving fines on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest that had been levied by Alan de Neville and his associates. Robert Mantel reported the pardon at the Exchequer.⁵⁶

The monastery of Casa was pardon a sum of 4s in 1175 for assarts, waste, and pleas of

⁵¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 48.

⁵²Eyton, 187 and 192. See also 194, 198, 203, 204, 210, 219, 235, 239, 288n.

⁵³Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 144.

⁵⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 72.

⁵⁵Eyton, see 88, 130, 130n, 164, 192, 195, 199, 219, 226, 226n, 228, 233, 269, 273.

⁵⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 124.

the forest. Sheriff Hugo de Bokeland reported the pardon in his account of Berkshire.⁵⁷

Richard Camville (who may have been the same man as Richard Camville, above) received two pardons for offenses against royal lands. The first pardon, reported in 1170 by Sheriff Alard Banastre of Oxfordshire, was for a sum of £1 for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed in the forest of Oxford.⁵⁸ The second, reported in 1172 by Dorset and Somersetshire sheriff Alfred de Lincoln, was for a sum of £1 12s for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.⁵⁹

Roger de Calz received a pardon of 13s 4d in 1181 for his part of fines levied in Northamptonshire by Thomas FitzBernard in his capacity as a royal forester. The pardon was reported by Thomas FitzBernard in his role as sheriff of that shire.⁶⁰

The bishop of Chester received royal pardons on two occasions for his responsibility in cases concerning assarting and illegal land clearance. Sheriff of Nottingham and Derbyshire Randolf de Engelram reported that the crown granted the bishop's first pardon of £6 13s 4d in 1160 for fines levied on assarts.⁶¹ A decade later, Herve de Stratton, sberiff of Staffordshire, reported the next pardon of £25 6s 8d for the bishop's part of fines on assarts and waste.⁶²

Sheriffs of Shropshire Geoffrey de Verdun and Nicholas Clericus reported a pardon

⁵⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 135.

⁵⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 69.

⁵⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 75.

⁶⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 72.

⁶¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 44.

⁶²Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 131.

extended to Gerard Choch in 1170. The £2 pardon erased Gerard's part of a fine on assarts and waste.⁶³

As sheriff of Worcestershire in 1184, Michael Belet reported that the monastery of Chokehille received a pardon of 3s for its part of a fine for assarts and related pleas.⁶⁴

The abbey of Colecester received a pardon of 9d in 1171. Robert Mantel, sheriff of Essex and Hertford, reported the pardon at the Exchequer as part of an account levied in the forest of Essex on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville.⁶⁵

The earl of Leicester received a pardon of 6s 8d for his share of a fine on assarts in Gloucestershire in 1160. Sheriff William de Beauchamp reported the account to the Exchequer.⁶⁶

William FitzStephen, sheriff of Gloucestershire, reported that William Crass received a pardon for his share of a fine on assarts and related pleas in 1182. The pardon totaled 6s 8d.⁶⁷

Maurice de Creon received a pardon for 13s 4d in 1178 for his share of an account levied on assarts and waste. Sheriff of Surrey Gervase de Cornhill reported the fine as one of a set of pardons for which he accounted at the Exchequer.⁶⁸ Maurice de Creon mixed in royal circles for most of his career from 1166-1185. He witnessed the document written up in

⁶³Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 133.

⁶⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 65.

⁶⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 124.

⁶⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 29.

⁶⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 26.

⁶⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 134.

October 1174 at Falaise to formalize the settlement the King had reached with Louis VII and the Princes Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey at the end of the rebellion.⁶⁹

In 1170, Herve de Stratton, sheriff of Staffordshire, reported in his account to the Exchequer concerning assarts and waste that the crown had granted a pardon to the monks of Combermere for their share of the fines. The pardon totaled £3 6s 8d.⁷⁰

William de Courcy received three pardons for his part in assarting and related activities in Southamptonshire in 1182. Sheriff Geoffrey de Aze reported that the crown had extended a pardon of 12s for fines in the forest of Hampshire levied by Alan de Neville, a second for 9s, and a third for £6 9s 10d for fines in the forest of Hampshire levied by Thomas FitzBernard.⁷¹ William de Courcy served the crown frequently in the previous decade. He witnessed several royal charters and the 1174 agreement that brought Henry to terms with the king of Scotland and he was regularly in the company of men like Earl William de Mandeville, Richard de Humez, and the king's sons.⁷²

Reginald de Curtenai received several pardons for assarting and related activity in a variety of counties during the reign of Henry II. In 1176, Hugo de Bokeland reported that the crown had extended Reginald de Curtenai a pardon of 6s 8d for his part of assarts, waste, and

⁶⁹Eyton, 185.

⁷⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 131.

⁷¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 140, 141, and 142.

⁷²Eyton, 157-158, and 186. See also 67, 68, 74, 92, 110-112, 118, 135, 162, and 170-208, *passim*.

pleas of the forest in Berkshire.⁷³ In 1177 in Devonshire, Sheriff William Ruffus reported Curtenai had received a pardon of £2 17s 8d for his part of an account on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. The same year in Berkshire, Sheriff Hugo de St. Germanus reported that Curtenai had received a pardon of 6s for his part of an account on assarts and related fines that had been levied by Thomas FitzBernard.⁷⁴ The following year in Devonshire, Sheriff Hugo de Gundeville reported that Curtenai had again provided a royal pardon of £2 17s 8d to pay his share of an account levied on assarts and related pleas. William de Richard, sheriff of Buckingham and Bedfordshire, reported that Curtenai received a pardon of 13s 4d to help clear an account on assarts and waste in the forest of Buckinghamshire in 1178.⁷⁵ Reginald de Curtenai appears regularly in the royal record between 1164 and 1188, and is usually found rubbing shoulders with the king's top men.⁷⁶

Sheriff Robert Mantel reported in his account for Essex and Hertfordshire in 1177 that Robert de Curtenai had received a pardon to help clear part of an account on assarts and related pleas. Robert de Curtenai's pardon was for the sum of 15s.⁷⁷ Robert de Curtenai received a second pardon in 1178 for his share of fines for assarts and waste in Northamptonshire. Thomas FitzBernard reported the pardon of £3 16s 6d in his account to

⁷³Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 132.

⁷⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 3 and 48.

⁷⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 14 and 96.

⁷⁶Eyton, 68-290, *passim*.

⁷⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

the Exchequer.⁷⁸ In 1181, Thomas FitzBernard again reported that Robert de Curtenai had received a pardon of £2 for assarts and related offenses in his jurisdiction of Northamptonshire.⁷⁹

Ralph de Dena received a pardon of £1 10s in 1177 for assarts and related offenses levied by Thomas FitzBernard.. Sheriff Gervase de Cornhill reported the pardon in his report to the Exchequer on Surrey.⁸⁰ Eyton notes Ralph de Dena as having been active between 1166 and 1186, and he appeared on a Michaelmas 1186 list of people who had been grantees of the crown during the previous year.⁸¹

The sheriff of Nottingham and Derbyshire, Randolf de Engleram, reported that the abbot of Derby received a pardon for assarts in 1160. The 13s 4d pardon was one of a set of pardons the sheriff reported in his jurisdiction.⁸²

Roland de Dinan received three pardons for assarting and related crimes during the reign of Henry II. Sheriff of Hampshire, Hugo de Gundeville, reported Roland de Dinan's first pardon for assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Hampshire in 1170.⁸³ Thomas FitzBernard, sheriff of Northamptonshire, reported at the Exchequer in 1178 that

⁷⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 54.

⁷⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 72.

⁸⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 196.

⁸¹Eyton, 273.

⁸²Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 44.

⁸³Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 125.

Roland received a second pardon of £10 for assarts in Northampton.⁸⁴ Thomas FitzBernard reported that Roland de Dinan had again received a pardon for assarts and related offenses in his jurisdiction in 1181. In this third case the pardon totaled £1 6s 8d.⁸⁵ Roland de Dinan had been named Justice of Bretagne by Henry II in 1177.⁸⁶

Ranulph de Glanville, reporting to the Exchequer as sheriff of Yorkshire in 1178, noted that Alan, a canon of York, received a pardon of £2 10s for his share of assarts and waste in the forest of Yorkshire. It was one of multiple pardons he reported to the treasury.⁸⁷

The bishop of Ely received several pardons for offenses related to assarting and land clearance during the reign of Henry II. The crown extended a pardon to the bishop of Ely of £2 13s 4d for his share of fines on assarts and waste in the forest of Huntingdon. Ebrard de Beche and Warren de Bassingburn, sheriffs of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, reported the pardon along with several others to the treasury in 1176.⁸⁸ Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, received a pardon of £3 8s 2d for his share of assarts and related offenses in 1177. Robert Mantel reported the pardon to the Exchequer as sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire.⁸⁹ Ebrard de Beche and Warren de Bassingburn, sheriffs of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire in 1177, reported that the crown had pardoned the bishop of a debt of £1 5s 6d for assarts and related

⁸⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 54.

⁸⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 72.

⁸⁶Eyton, 221. See also 266.

⁸⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 70.

⁸⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 71.

⁸⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

offenses.⁹⁰ In 1181 two sheriffs reported royal pardons extended to the bishop. Sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, Hugo FitzWalter reported a pardon of £1 19s extended to pardon a part of a debt on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Huntingdonshire.⁹¹ Sheriff Robert Mantel of Essex and Hertfordshire reported that the bishop of Ely had received a pardon of £6 7s 2d for his share of assarts and related offenses levied in the forest of Essex.⁹² Otto FitzWilliam, sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire reported a pardon extended to the bishop of Ely in 1184 for his share of assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. The pardon totaled £5 11s 8d.⁹³

The prioress of Etton received a pardon of £2 8s 4d for her share of fines on assarts and related offenses levied by Thomas FitzBernard in Berkshire. Sheriff Hugo St. Germanus reported the pardon to the Exchequer in 1177.⁹⁴

Robert Mantel reported that Eve, countess of Ireland, received a pardon of £4 for her share of an account of fines on assarts and related crimes in the forest of Essex. He reported the pardon to the treasury in 1181.⁹⁵

The bishop of Exeter received a pardon in 1179 of 6s for his share of an account of fines on assarts and related crimes assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. This pardon was

⁹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 182.

⁹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 101.

⁹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 106.

⁹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 130.

⁹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 48.

⁹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 106.

reported to the Exchequer by Sheriff Gervase de Cornhill in his account for Surrey.⁹⁶ The bishop of Exeter received a second pardon in 1182. Sheriff of Devonshire William Briwere reported this 16s pardon to the treasury to help clear an account on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Thomas FitzBernard.⁹⁷

The monks of Monkton Farleigh received a pardon of £1 10s for a fine on assarts in Heuedlingeill. They reported the pardon in their own account to the Exchequer in 1186, which as a part of the Wiltshire account.⁹⁸

In Rutland, Wakelin de Ferrariis received two pardons during Henry II's reign. The first of £2 10s he received in 1170. Sheriff Richard de Humez reported the pardon in clearing his accounts on wastes and assarts levied by Simon FitzPeter.⁹⁹ William Malduit reported the second pardon during his tenure as sheriff of Rutland over a decade later, in 1181. It totaled £5 worth of an account levied by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.¹⁰⁰ The identity of Wakelin de Ferrariis is a bit of a mystery. Eyton identifies two such men, possibly father and son, though he does not say this. The first man, along with several others, confirmed in 1157 at Caen a grant to St. Stephen's Abbey. The second attested to a charter issued at Rouen in 1183 to the Abbey of Barbery. While not beyond the realm of possibility that they could be the same man, Eyton believed they were not. The pardons

⁹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 123.

⁹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 30.

⁹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 162.

⁹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 24.

¹⁰⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 80.

issued between 1170 and 1181 could belong to either man, although if Eyton is correct the pardons may more likely belong to the younger man, since the confirmation of a grant to an abbey, made in 1157, seems to be more stereotypically the act of an old man, and one could say that the Middle Ages is full of precedents that support this stereotype.¹⁰¹ In either case, the man was active enough to be noted for his service in the royal record.

Richard Foillet received a pardon of £2 in 1175. The sheriff of Hampshire, Hugo de Gundeville, reported the pardon to the Exchequer as part of an account on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in his jurisdiction.¹⁰²

Hugo de Bokeland, sheriff of Berkshire in 1175, reported a pardon of £1 12s extended by the crown to the monastery of Fonte Ebroid. The pardon was one of multiple pardons Hugo de Bokeland reported to the treasury in an effort to work toward clearing an account of fines on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.¹⁰³

Henry FitzGerard, one of the king's chamberlains, received pardons to clear parts of his debts for assarting and related activity. Sheriff Peter FitzSimon reported Henry FitzGerard's first pardon of £1 6s 8d to the treasury for an account on assarts in the shires of Northampton and Buckingham in 1160.¹⁰⁴ David Archdeacon, sheriff of Buckingham and Bedfordshire reported a second pardon extended to the chamberlain in 1170 for an account on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Bedfordshire. The second pardon

¹⁰¹Eyton, 22 and 253.

¹⁰²Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 193.

¹⁰³Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 135.

¹⁰⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 37.

totalled £1 10s 8d.¹⁰⁵ As one of Henry II's chamberlains, Henry FitzGerard's service no doubt qualified him for pardons in the king's eyes. Nevertheless, he appears only a few times in the royal record, usually as a witness.¹⁰⁶

Sheriff Stephan FitzWilliam of Gloucestershire reported that the earl of Gloucester received two pardons for fines in his jurisdiction in 1181. The earl received one pardon of 7s 4d for his part of an account on assarts and waste, and a second pardon of 15s 4d for his share of another account on assarts and related offenses.¹⁰⁷

The wife of Hugo Gubuin received a pardon of £1 for her share of an account on assarts in Northampton and Buckinghamshire. Sheriff Simon FitzPeter reported the pardon to the treasury in 1160.¹⁰⁸

William Hadewi received a pardon of £3 in 1178. Sheriff of Hereford in Wales Randolf Poer reported the pardon in his Michaelmas account of assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest to the Exchequer.¹⁰⁹ William Hadewi received a second pardon of £1 10s for his part of an account assessed on assarts and related offenses in 1181. Sheriff Randolf Poer of Hereford in Wales again reported the pardon in his account to the Exchequer.¹¹⁰

Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire Robert Mantel reported in 1171 a pardon in

¹⁰⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 30.

¹⁰⁶Eyton, 25, 31, 33, and 39.

¹⁰⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 119 and 121.

¹⁰⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 37.

¹⁰⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 102.

¹¹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 3.

extended to Walter Hadfeld. The pardon erased 2s 6d of an account on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied in the forest of Essex by Alan de Neville and his associates.¹¹¹ Three years later, Walter Hadfeld worked in conjunction with Robert Mantel as an assessor collecting the tax levied on the rebel lands following the rebellion of 1173.¹¹²

In 1170 in Shropshire, Sheriffs Geoffrey de Verdun and William Clericus reported a pardon extended to the Abbey de Haughmond for its share of an account on assarts and waste. The pardon totaled £1.¹¹³

The monastery of Haliwell received two pardons for its activities concerning assarts and related offenses in Surrey levied by Thomas FitzBernard. Sheriff Gervase de Cornhill reported the first pardon of £3 15s at Michaelmas 1177 and the second of £2 5s in 1182.¹¹⁴

William FitzHam received a pardon of £1 6s 8d to clear his share of an account on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in 1171. Sheriff of Wiltshire Richard de Wilton reported the pardon to the treasury as one of multiple pardons that he used to help clear his accounts.¹¹⁵

Sheriff of Northampton and Buckinghamshire Simon FitzPeter reported that Hugo de Hamesclape received a pardon in 1160 for his share of an account on assarts. This pardon

¹¹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 124.

¹¹²Eyton, 184-185.

¹¹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 133.

¹¹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 196; vol. 31, 158.

¹¹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 22.

totaled £2.¹¹⁶ Fifteen years later, Hugo de Hamesclape received a second pardon, which totaled £2 12s 6d, for his share of an account levied on assarts, waste and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph. Hugo de Gundeville reported the second pardon in his account to the Exchequer for Northamptonshire in 1175.¹¹⁷ Eyton notes the existence of a writ, dated at Vaudreuil and addressed to Alan de Neville and the King's foresters on behalf of Hugo de Hamesclape, and attested by John, dean of Salisbury, and Robert Malduit. Eyton does not specify what the writ concerned.¹¹⁸

Ade de Herleberg received two pardons for his share of assarting fines during Henry II's reign. He received the first pardon of 13s 4d in 1175 to relieve part of a fine levied in Hampshire on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRadulph.¹¹⁹ The second pardon of 15s in 1177 relieved Herleberg's share of a fine on assarts and related items assessed in Southamptonshire.¹²⁰ In each case, the pardons were part of a set of multiple pardons and the reporting sheriff was Hugo de Gundeville.

In Carlisle, the monastery of Holmcultram received a pardon of £5 to eliminate part of its debt on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest of Cumbria. Sheriff of Carlisle Robert de Troite reported the pardon in his account to the Exchequer in 1170.¹²¹

¹¹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 37.

¹¹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 43.

¹¹⁸Eyton, 187.

¹¹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 193.

¹²⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 171.

¹²¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 32.

The men of Andover received a pardon of £9 7s 2d to erase part of a debt on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Alan de Neville and his men. Hugo de Gundeville reported this pardon as one of multiple pardons in his account to the Exchequer at Michaelmas 1176.¹²²

The Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, known as the Knights Hospitaller, received several pardons from the crown during the reign of King Henry II. Sheriff Simon FitzPeter of Nottingham and Buckingham reported the Hospitallers' first pardon for a fine on assarts in 1160. The pardon totaled £1 6s 8d.¹²³ The same year, sheriff of Nottingham and Derbyshire, Ranulph de Engelram, reported that the Hospitallers received a fine of £3 for their share of a fine on assarts in his jurisdiction.¹²⁴ In 1176, Sheriff Robert Mantel of Essex and Hertfordshire reported a pardon extended to the Hospitallers of £1 15s 11d for their share of an account of fines levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Essex.¹²⁵ In 1178 the Hospitallers received three pardons for offenses related to illegal land clearance. In Essex and Hertfordshire, Sheriff Robert Mantel reported a pardon of £1 17s extended to the Hospitallers for their part of a fine on assarts and related offenses in the forest of Essex.¹²⁶ Sheriff of Hereford Randolph Poer reported a £6 pardon extended to the Hospitallers for their share of a fine levied on the assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in his

¹²²Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 191.

¹²³Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 37.

¹²⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 44.

¹²⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 4.

¹²⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 35.

jurisdiction.¹²⁷ Walter FitzHugh reported a pardon extended to the Hospitallers of 2s on an account for assarts and related crimes in his shrievalty of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire.¹²⁸ Hugo de Gundeville, sheriff of Southamptonshire reported that the Hospitallers received pardon in 1179 for their share of fines levied on assarts and related offenses in his territories. The pardon totaled 15s.¹²⁹ The Hospitallers received one pardon of 6d and one pardon of 12s 6d in 1185 for offenses in Bedfordshire. William Ruffus, sheriff of Buckingham and Bedfordshire, reported the pardons in his account to the Exchequer concerning assarts and related offenses.¹³⁰

Like the Hospitallers, royal constable Richard de Humez, who appears almost incessantly through the last part of the royal record,¹³¹ received multiple pardons for his illegal land clearance activities. In 1160, Sheriff Simon FitzPeter reported a royal pardon extended to Richard de Humez clearing his share of an account on assarts in Northampton and Buckinghamshire. The sum of the fine was £2 19s 6d.¹³² A decade later Richard de Humez received another pardon of 6s 8d to clear his share of an account assessed on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Hampshire. Hugo de Gundeville reported the pardon in

¹²⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 102.

¹²⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 115.

¹²⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 104.

¹³⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 132 and 140.

¹³¹Eyton, 233-290, *passim*.

¹³²Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 37.

his account to the Exchequer at Michaelmas 1170.¹³³ In 1171, Richard de Humez received a pardon of £5 2s for his share of an account levied by Alan de Neville on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Essex. Robert Mantel reported the pardon in his accounts for Essex and Hertfordshire.¹³⁴ Thomas FitzBernard reported a pardon extended to Richard de Humez in 1178. The £12 6s 8d pardon cleared the constable's share of a fine levied on assarts and waste in Northamptonshire.¹³⁵ Sheriff Thomas FitzBernard of Northamptonshire reported a final pardon for assarts and related offenses extended to Richard de Humez at the Exchequer in 1181. This pardon totaled £5 16s 8d.¹³⁶

Hugo de Gundeville, sheriff of Hampshire, reported a pardon extended to Walter de Lisle in 1170 to help clear an account on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied in the forest of Hampshire. The pardon was for the sum of 6s 8d.¹³⁷

John FitzJohn received a pardon of 9s in 1177 for his share of a fine on assarts and related offenses. Robert Mantel reported the pardon as one of several pardons on related crimes in his report to the Exchequer for Essex and Hertfordshire.¹³⁸

Ade Fitzlord received two pardon for assart-related activity in 1172. In an account for Nottingham and Derbyshire, Langley lord reported Ade's first pardon of 6s 8d for his

¹³³Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 125.

¹³⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 124.

¹³⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 54.

¹³⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 72.

¹³⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 125.

¹³⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

share of a fine levied on assarts.¹³⁹ Sheriff of Essex and Hertford Robert Mantel reported that Ade received a second pardon of £2 17s 6d for his share of a fine on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.¹⁴⁰

Henry de Kemesech received a pardon of £1 4s to forgive his share of an account on assarts and related crimes. Robert Mantel reported the pardon as one of multiple pardons in his report to the Exchequer for Essex and Hertfordshire in 1177.¹⁴¹

The abbey of Kirkstall received two pardons for assarting and related activities. Sheriff of Yorkshire, Robert de Stuteville, reported the first pardon of £7 10s to relieve the monastery of its share of a debt on assarts, waste, and related offenses in 1170.¹⁴² As sheriff of Yorkshire, Ranulph de Glanville reported the second pardon of 3s 6d in 1178. The second pardon forgave the abbey's share of a debt on assarts and waste in the forest of Yorkshire.¹⁴³

The Lacy family received multiple pardons for its assarting activity throughout the reign of Henry II. Robert de Stuteville, sheriff of Yorkshire, reported that Henry de Lacy received a pardon of £6 13s 4d in 1170. The pardon alleviated his share of an account on assarts and related activities.¹⁴⁴ In Herefordshire, Sheriff Walter de Beauchamp reported in 1170 that Hugh de Lacy received a pardon of 13s 4d for his share of an account of fines levied

¹³⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 14.

¹⁴⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 42.

¹⁴¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

¹⁴²Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 41.

¹⁴³Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 70.

¹⁴⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 41.

on assarts and waste.¹⁴⁵ Hugh de Lacy's service to the crown was extensive, though he may have lost favor with the crown in the 1180s when he lost his royal position in Dublin because he married the daughter of the King of Connaught without King Henry's permission.¹⁴⁶ Almarico de Lacy received a pardon of 10s 6d in 1178 to relieve his share of a debt levied on assarts and waste. Guido Extraneus, sheriff of Shropshire, reported the pardon.¹⁴⁷ Hugh de Lacy received another pardon of 13s 4d in 1182 for his share of an account of assarts and related crimes assessed by Thomas FitzBernard. William FitzStephen reported the pardon in his account of Gloucestershire's finances at the Exchequer.¹⁴⁸

William de Lanval received several pardons for his activities related to assarting during the 1170s and early 1180s. William was first pardoned for a fine levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in 1170. Robert Mantel, sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, reported the 11s 8d fine in his Michaelmas account to the treasury.¹⁴⁹ William received his next pardon of 17s 4d in 1175 for his share of an account of fines levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. The fine was reported by Hugo de Bokeland at the Exchequer.¹⁵⁰ In 1177, William received a pardon of £2 7s 6d to relieve him of his share of a fine levied on assarts and related offenses. Robert Mantel reported the fine in his Michaelmas account to the Exchequer on the

¹⁴⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 59.

¹⁴⁶Eyton, 238. See also 165-270, *passim*.

¹⁴⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 85.

¹⁴⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 25.

¹⁴⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 107.

¹⁵⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 135.

finances of Essex and Hertfordshire. It was one of multiple pardons issued on the account.¹⁵¹ Thomas FitzBernard reported that William Lanval received a pardon of 13s 4d in 1181 to help clear his share of an account for fines levied on assarts and related offenses in Northamptonshire.¹⁵² In Essex and Hertfordshire, Sheriff Robert Mantel also reported in 1181 that a pardon had been extended to William Lanval to cover his share of a fine levied on assarts and related crimes in the forest of Essex. The pardon totaled 14s 6d, and was one of multiple pardons Mantel reported.¹⁵³ William Lanval served the crown on numerous occasions between 1155 and 1179, commonly as witness to charters and confirmations, usually in the company of other men who appear in this record of pardonees.¹⁵⁴

Ralph Bardulf, sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingtongshire, reported in 1184 that a royal pardon had been extended to the bishop of Lincoln to help clear an account levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. The sum of the pardon was £2 13s.¹⁵⁵

William Lisors received two royal pardons for assarts, waste, and related offenses committed on his lands in Northamptonshire. The first pardon totaled £21 12s, and the second £3 1s. Sheriff Thomas FitzBernard reported both pardons in his report to the Exchequer in 1182.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

¹⁵²Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 72.

¹⁵³Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 106.

¹⁵⁴Eyton, 159-160 and 192. See also 12-228, *passim*.

¹⁵⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 11.

¹⁵⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 131 and 133.

The crown granted William of London two pardons for assarts, waste, pleas of the forest, and related offenses in Berkshire. The first pardon, reported by Sheriff Hugo de Saint Germanus in 1175, totaled 33s.¹⁵⁷ The second, brought before the Exchequer by Hugo de Bokeland in 1177, amounted to 18s.¹⁵⁸

Royal Chamberlain Richard de Lucy received several pardons from the crown to clear fines he accrued for assarts, waste, pleas of the forest, and related offenses. In 1172, Sheriff of Nottingham and Derbyshire William FitzRalph reported a pardon of £1 6s 8d extended to Richard de Lucy for his share of a fine levied in the forest of Berkshire.¹⁵⁹ Essex and Hertford Sheriff Robert Mantel reported that Lucy had received a pardon of 7s 6d for relief of fines levied in the forest of Essex. He reported the pardon in 1175.¹⁶⁰ Richard de Lucy received a second pardon for assart-related offenses in 1175 of £4 14s 6d, reported by Sheriff Hugo de Bokeland for offenses in Berkshire.¹⁶¹ Hugo de St. Germanus reported two pardons presented by Richard de Lucy in 1177 to clear fines on assart and related offenses in Berkshire. The first pardon totaled £5 9s 6d for fines levied by Thomas FitzBernard. The second totaled £2 10s, and cleared a related portion of the same fine.¹⁶² Finally, Robert Mantel, acting as sheriff of Essex and Hertford, reported a third pardon extended to Richard de Lucy in 1177. It totaled

¹⁵⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 135.

¹⁵⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 48.

¹⁵⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 15.

¹⁶⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 75.

¹⁶¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 135.

¹⁶²Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 48.

5s 6d.¹⁶³ Obviously, as chamberlain, Richard de Lucy's service to the crown was extensive and he was no doubt seen as very deserving when the crown parceled out favors such as pardons for infractions of the forest.¹⁶⁴

Another of the king's chamberlains, William Malduit also received several pardons for assarts, waste, pleas of the forest, and related offenses over the years of Henry II's reign. As early as 1160, sheriff of Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire, Simon FitzPeter, reported that William Malduit received a pardon of £3 6s 8d for his share of a fine on assarts.¹⁶⁵ Joint sheriffs of Buckingham and Bedfordshire, David Archdeacon and William FitzRichard, reported in 1170 that Malduit had received a pardon of £2 18s 4d for offenses assessed in the forest of Buckinghamshire.¹⁶⁶ In a second instance, Hugo de Gundeville reported that Malduit received one of multiple pardons he reported in 1170. Malduit's pardon totaled 6s 8d for fines assessed in Hampshire.¹⁶⁷ In 1175, Sheriff Hugo de Gundeville reported a pardon of £3 15s extended to William Malduit for fines on offenses assessed by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph in Northamptonshire.¹⁶⁸

William Malvoisin received a pardon of £1 6s 8d to clear his share of a fine levied by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph on assarts, waste, and pleas of the

¹⁶³Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

¹⁶⁴Eyton, 2-228, *passim*.

¹⁶⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 37.

¹⁶⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 30.

¹⁶⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 125.

¹⁶⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 43.

forest. Hugo de Gundeville reported the pardon in 1175 as sheriff of Hampshire.¹⁶⁹ Sheriff Gervase de Cornhill of Surrey reported a pardon extended to William Malvoisin in 1178. The pardon again totaled £1 6s 8d.¹⁷⁰ William Malvoisin served the crown on several occasions, and may be found in such acts as witnessing charters in the presence of men like Richard de Humez and William de Mandeville, and other pardonees such as Richard de Curtenai and Richard de Camville.¹⁷¹

William de Mandeville, earl of Essex and earl of Albemarle, appears as a major player throughout the record of Henry II's reign.¹⁷² He received several pardons for assarts and related offenses from his king. Robert Mantel, sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, reported that Earl William received a pardon in 1171 of £18 9s 4d to clear his share of a fine levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville and his crew in the forest of Essex.¹⁷³ In 1175, Sheriff Hugo de Bokeland reported two pardons extended to the earl for fines assessed in Berkshire by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph. One fine totaled £1 14s, and the second connected pardon totaled £3 5s.¹⁷⁴ Earl William received a pardon of £2 13s 4d in 1176 for his share of a fine levied in assarts and waste in the forest of Huntingdon. Ebrard de Beche and Warren de Bassingburn reported the pardon in their

¹⁶⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 193.

¹⁷⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 134.

¹⁷¹Eyton, 187. See also 186, 198, 203, and 212.

¹⁷²Eyton, 99n-296, *passim*.

¹⁷³Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 124.

¹⁷⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 135.

account to the Exchequer as joint sheriffs of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire.¹⁷⁵ Sheriff Hugo de St. Germanus reported two pardons extended in 1177 to Earl William for connected offenses in Berksrhire. The sum of the first pardon was £1 5s and the second was £2 7s 6d.¹⁷⁶ Sheriff Robert Mantel noted in his Michaelmas report for Essex and Hertfordshire in 1177 that the earl received a pardon of £17 11s for his share of a fine on assarts and related offenses.¹⁷⁷

In 1177, Robert Mantel, serving as sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, reported that he had received a pardon of 8s 6d to clear his own share of a fine levied on assarts and related offenses in his own jurisdiction. His own pardon was one of multiple pardons he reported to the Exchequer.¹⁷⁸

Geoffrey de Meduan received a pardon of £6 13s 4d to relieve his share of a fine levied in Dorsetshire on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. Alfred de Lincoln reported the pardon as one of multiple pardons in his account to the Exchequer as sheriff of Somersetshire in 1171.¹⁷⁹ Geoffrey de Meduan had distinguished himself by taking the cross in October 1159 along with several of his relatives and other men.¹⁸⁰

In 1175, Hugo de Gundeville, acting as sheriff of Hampshire, reported a pardon extended to Robert de Meisi. The pardon totaled £5 for Meisi's share of fines levied on

¹⁷⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 25, 71.

¹⁷⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 48.

¹⁷⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

¹⁷⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

¹⁷⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 17.

¹⁸⁰Eyton, 41-42.

assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph.¹⁸¹

Gilbert de Meleford received a pardon of 7s in 1185 for his share of fines levied on assarts, waste, and related offenses in Wiltshire. Sheriff Robert Malduit reported the pardon in his Michaelmas account to the Exchequer.¹⁸²

The canons of Merton received two pardons from the crown during the late 1170s. In 1177, Sheriff of Surrey, Gervase de Cornhill, reported a pardon of £14 6s 2d extended to the canons to clear a portion of a fine levied by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts, waste, and related crimes.¹⁸³ Sheriff of Southampton, Hugo de Gundeville, reported the second pardon of 7s at the Exchequer in 1179 to clear part of a debt levied on assarts and related offenses.¹⁸⁴

Reese de Micheleham received a pardon of £2 in 1177 to alleviate his share of a fine levied on assarts, waste, and related offenses by Thomas FitzBernard. Gervase de Cornhill reported the fine in his account to the Exchequer as sheriff of Surrey.¹⁸⁵

William FitzStephen reported a pardon of £5 extended to Robert Muschet as part of an account for fines on assarts and waste. William reported the pardon as part of his account to the crown as sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1179.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 193.

¹⁸²Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 194.

¹⁸³Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 196.

¹⁸⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 104.

¹⁸⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 196.

¹⁸⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 91.

Nicholas, the king's chaplain, received two pardons to clear his share of fines levied on assarts and waste. Thomas FitzBernard, as sheriff of Northamptonshire, reported the pardons of 4s and 3s in his Michaelmas report of 1178.¹⁸⁷

Robert de Peissi received three pardons for assarting and related offenses during the 1170s. In 1175, Hugo de Gundeville reported that Robert de Peissi received a pardon of £8 4s 4d for his share of a fine levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph in Northamptonshire.¹⁸⁸ Sheriff of Northamptonshire Thomas FitzBernard reported that Robert de Peissi and Gilbert de Wascuil received a royal pardon of £17 10s to clear their share of a fine levied on assarts and waste.¹⁸⁹ This pardon was reported in 1178. In 1185, William de Peissi reported to the Exchequer on his own behalf that he had received a pardon of £7 6s 8d for assarts made in Northamptonshire.¹⁹⁰

The archdeacon of Scotland (*Archid. Pict'*) received two pardons for assart-related offenses in the early 1170s. Sheriff William de Beauchamp of Worcestershire reported the first pardon in 1170,¹⁹¹ and Sheriff Alfred de Lincoln of Dorset and Somersetshire reported the second in 1172.¹⁹² Each pardon totaled 6s 8d.

Gilbert de Pinchinni received a pardon of 10s in 1160 for his share of a fine levied on

¹⁸⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 54.

¹⁸⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 43.

¹⁸⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 54.

¹⁹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 51.

¹⁹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 56.

¹⁹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 75.

assarts. Simon FitzPeter reported the pardon to the Exchequer in his account of Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire.¹⁹³

Sheriff Hugo de Gundeville reported a pardon extended to Vicedno de Pinkigni in his account to the Exchequer for Hampshire in 1175. The pardon, which totaled 13s 4d, cleared part of a fine levied on assart, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph.¹⁹⁴

Gilbert Pipard received a pardon of 13s 4d for fines assessed on assarts, waste, and related crimes on his lands by Thomas FitzBernard. Ralph Morin and Thomas FitzBernard, acting as sheriff of Northamptonshire, reported the pardon in their account to the Exchequer in 1184.¹⁹⁵ Gilbert Pipard served the crown as an itinerant justice in Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall.¹⁹⁶

The monks of Pipewell received three pardons from the crown to clear fines they accrued by assarting and committing related infractions in royal forests. In 1160, Sheriff Simon FitzPeter reported that the monks received a pardon of £1 6s 8d for fines on assarting in his jurisdiction of Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire.¹⁹⁷ Thomas FitzBernard, sheriff of Northamptonshire, reported in 1178 that the monks of Pipewell received a royal pardon of

¹⁹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 37.

¹⁹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 193.

¹⁹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 33, 105.

¹⁹⁶Eyton, 185 and 199. See also 199n, 220n, 226-8, 233, 236, 239, 245-6, 264n, and 265.

¹⁹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 37.

£8 1s to relieve part of a debt owed for fines on assarts and waste in his territories.¹⁹⁸ Thomas FitzBernard, again sheriff of Northamptonshire, reported that the monastery received a pardon of £7 3s 4d in 1181 to clear part of a debt for fines on assarts, waste, and related pleas that Thomas had personally assessed.¹⁹⁹

In Surrey, Sheriff Gervase de Cornhill reported a pardon extended to Engleram de Pontiuo, dapifer, in 1178. The pardon totaled £2 13s 4d and relieved part of a debt assessed on assarts and waste.²⁰⁰

William, brother of R[obert?] received a pardon of £1 for his part of a fine levied on assarts. Peter FitzSimon, sheriff of Northampton and Buckinghamshire, reported the pardon in his Michaelmas account to the Exchequer in 1160.²⁰¹

The crown extended a pardon of £1 16s 8d to the abbey of Reading to relieve part of its share of a fine levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. Hugo de Bokeland reported the pardon in his Michaelmas account for Berkshire in 1173.²⁰² In 1175, Hugo de Bokeland reported in 1175 that the monks of Reading had received a pardon of £13 1s 4d for their share of a fine on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest assessed in his jurisdiction.²⁰³ Hugo de St. Germanus reported a royal pardon in 1177 that had been extended to the abbey

¹⁹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 54.

¹⁹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 72.

²⁰⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 134.

²⁰¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 37.

²⁰²Pipe Rolls, vol. 19, 65.

²⁰³Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 135.

of £7 19s for an account of fines levied on assarts, waste, and related offenses by Thomas FitzBernard in Berkshire.²⁰⁴

The canons of Radmore received a pardon for fines assessed on assarts and waste in Staffordshire. Herve de Stratton reported the 6s 8d pardon in his account as sheriff in 1170.²⁰⁵

Roger FitzRenfrid received a royal pardon in 1177 of 6d for his share of a fine on assarts, waste and pleas of the forest. Robert Mantel reported the pardon as one of multiple pardons he cited in his account as sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire.²⁰⁶

Hugo FitzRobert received a pardon of £1 for a fine levied on assarts and waste. William FitzRalph reported the pardon to the Exchequer in 1178 as sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire.²⁰⁷

As sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, Robert Mantel reported that Robert de Rochella received a pardon of 10s. The pardon was one of multiple pardons Mantel reported in 1177 to help clear a fine levied assarts, waste, pleas of the forest, and related offenses.²⁰⁸

The archbishop of “*Roth*” received several pardons to clear fines accrued by illegal land clearance activities through the 1170s and 1180s. As sheriff of Hampshire, Hugo de Gundeville reported three separate royal pardons extended to the archbishop. The first

²⁰⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 48.

²⁰⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 131.

²⁰⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

²⁰⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 87.

²⁰⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

instance occurred in 1170 when the archbishop received a pardon of £1 to clear a portion of a fine levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Hampshire.²⁰⁹ Hugo de Gundeville reported the second instance in 1175, when the archbishop received a pardon of £1 6s 8d for his share of a fine levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph in Hampshire.²¹⁰ Finally, in 1179, Hugo de Gundeville again reported a pardon extended to the archbishop of Roth to clear his share of fines levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in his jurisdiction of Southamptonshire.²¹¹ Geoffrey FitzAze reported a total of three royal pardons for £2 13s 4d, £1 13s, and 12s extended to the archbishop in 1182. Each pardon erased a portion of a large fine levied by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts, waste, pleas of the forest, and related pleas in the forest of Hampshire.²¹²

The monastery of Rufford received two pardons for fines levied on assarts and waste in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. Sheriff William FitzRalph reported the first pardon of £13 6s 8d (which cleared the entire account) in 1172, and the second pardon of £1 6s 8d in 1178.²¹³

Robert Mantel, sheriff of Essex and Hertford, twice reported pardons extended to Robert de Ruilli. The first pardon of 15s occurred in 1171, and helped clear part of an

²⁰⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 125.

²¹⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 193.

²¹¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 104.

²¹²Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 142.

²¹³Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 8; and vol. 27, 87.

account levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Essex by Alan de Neville and his associates.²¹⁴ In 1177, he reported that Ruilli had received a pardon of £1 14s for his share of an account of fines levied on assarts, waste, and related offenses.²¹⁵

The monks of Runfort received a pardon of £1 in 1161. Sheriff Randolf FitzEngelram reported the pardon to the Exchequer to help clear a fine levied on assarts in his jurisdiction, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire.²¹⁶

Geoffrey de Sancto Mauro received a pardon of 5s for his share of an account levied on assarts and waste in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdon. Sheriffs Ebrard de Beche and Warren de Bassingburn reported the fine at the Exchequer in 1171.²¹⁷

William FitzStephen, sheriff of Gloucestershire, reported a royal pardon extended to the monks of St. James of Bristol in 1186. The pardon totaled £3 and cleared part of a fine levied on assarts in the area by Robert de Hasley and his associates.²¹⁸

Alfred de Lincoln, sheriff of Somerset, reported an account in 1171 of fines levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Dorset. He reported multiple pardons, including a pardon of £1 6s 8d extended to Robert of the church of Saint Marie.²¹⁹

The monks of St. Ebrald received a pardon of £1 6s 8d to clear their share of an

²¹⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 124.

²¹⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

²¹⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 4, 31.

²¹⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 115.

²¹⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 120.

²¹⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 17.

account of fines levied on assarts and waste in Staffordshire. Sheriff Herve de Stratton reported the pardon as part of his Michaelmas account to the Exchequer in 1171.²²⁰

The abbey of St. Edmund received a pardon of £1 7s to erase its share of a fine levied on assarts. Sheriff of Northamptonshire and Buckingham, Peter FitzSimon, reported the pardon as one of multiple pardons in his account to the Exchequer in 1160.²²¹

Also at Michaelmas in 1160, Peter FitzSimon reported that the lands of the king of the Scots (*tra. Reg. Scotie*) had received a royal pardon on the same account of fines for assarts in Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire. This pardon totaled £2 13s 4d.²²² A decade later, sheriffs of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, Ebrard de Beche and Warren de Bassingburn, reported to the 1170 Michaelmas meeting of the Exchequer another pardon extended to the King of the Scots for the sum of £4 13s 4d to help clear a debt owed for fines on assarts and waste.²²³

The monastery of Swardsley received a pardon of 3s in 1181. Thomas FitzBernard reported the pardon to the Exchequer in his Northamptonshire sheriff's account of fines for assarts, waste, pleas of the forest and related offenses.²²⁴

Robert FitzSewin received a pardon of £3 to clear fines levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph. Hugo de

²²⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 54.

²²¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 37.

²²²Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 37.

²²³Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 95.

²²⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 72.

Gundeville, sheriff of Northamptonshire, reported the pardon in his account to the Exchequer in 1175.²²⁵

The crown issued a pardon to Robert de St. Pancras for £6 13s 4d. Alfred de Lincoln, sheriff of Somersetshire, reported the pardon as part of an account for fines levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Dorset.²²⁶

The canons of Stanested received two pardons for assarting and related activities in 1169. Nicholas Clericus, acting as sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, reported the pardons of 2s and 1s, as part of his account on fines levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville.²²⁷

The royal government issued a pardon of £2 to the king's chamberlain, Ralph FitzStephen, for his share of an account of fines levied by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts and waste in Gloucestershire. Sheriff William FitzStephen reported the pardon as one of multiple pardons he reported to the Exchequer at Michaelmas 1178.²²⁸ In addition to serving as one of the king's chamberlains, Ralph FitzStephen appeared in the record as a witness.²²⁹

The monks of Stratford received a pardon of 13s 4d for their share of a fine levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. Sheriff Hugo de Bokeland reported the pardon in his Berkshire account to the Exchequer in 1175.

²²⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 43.

²²⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 17.

²²⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 13, 127.

²²⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 59.

²²⁹Eyton, 192. See also 184.

Countess Eve of Striguil received a pardon of £3 to clear a debt for assarts, waste, and related offenses. Robert Mantel, sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, reported the pardon to the Exchequer in 1177.²³⁰

Nicholas de Stuteville received a pardon of £2 to help him clear his share of a fine levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Dorset. Sheriff of Somersetshire Alfred de Lincoln reported the pardon with group of related pardons to the Exchequer in 1171.²³¹ Nicholas de Stuteville founded the Monastery of St. Mary de Valmont in 1169.²³²

One of the largest benefactors of royal pardons on assarting and related offenses was the Poor Knights of Christ and the Temple of Solomon, known commonly as the Knights Templar. The large number of pardons they received and the scattered locations from which sheriffs reported them is an indication of the vast economic machine that the Templars controlled by the twelfth century. Among those first to receive a royal pardon for assarting, the Templars first benefitted from the exemption as early as 1160, when Simon FitzPeter, sheriff of Northampton and Buckinghamshire, reported that a pardon of 13s 4d had been extended to the Knights to relieve their share of a fine levied on assarts in his jurisdiction.²³³ Geoffrey de Verdun and William the Clerk, sheriff of Shropshire, reported in 1170 a pardon of

²³⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

²³¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 17.

²³²Eyton, 132. See also 8 and 221.

²³³Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 37.

£2 13s 4d extended to the Templars for their share of fines on assarts and waste.²³⁴ David the Archdeacon and William FitzRichard, joint sheriffs of Buckingham and Bedfordshire, reported a pardon of £3 4d extended to the Templars in 1172 to cover their share of a fine levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Bedford.²³⁵ The Templars received several pardons in 1177. Robert de Tureville, sheriff of Oxfordshire, reported that the Templars had received a pardon of 13s 4d for their portion of a fine levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.²³⁶ The sheriff of Berkshire, Hugo de St. Germanus, reported that they had received one pardon of 6s 8d and one pardon of £1 13s to clear part of their debt for assarts, waste, pleas of the forest, and related offenses levied in his jurisdiction by Thomas FitzBernard.²³⁷ In Buckingham and Bedfordshire, Sheriff William FitzRichard reported that the Templars had received a pardon of £4 10s to clear fines on assarts and related offenses.²³⁸ Ebrard de Beche and Warren de Bassingburn, sheriffs of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire reported in 1177 a pardon of 4s extended to the Templars to help clear fines levied on assarts and related offenses.²³⁹ In 1178, Thomas FitzBernard reported to the Exchequer that the Templars had received a pardon of 3s 4d to alleviate their share of fines levied in

²³⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 133.

²³⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 51.

²³⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 12.

²³⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 47 and 48.

²³⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 162.

²³⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 182.

Northamptonshire on assarts and waste.²⁴⁰ Sheriff of Shropshire, Guido Extraneus, reported a pardon extended to the Templars in 1178. The pardon totaled 13s for a part of a fine levied on assarts and waste.²⁴¹ William FitzRichard reported as sheriff of Buckingham and Bedfordshire in 1178 that the Knights had received a pardon of 7s to erase part of their share of a debt for fines levied on assarts, waste, and related offenses in the forest of Bedfordshire.²⁴² The sheriff of Oxfordshire, Robert de Stuteville, reported two pardons extended to the Templars in his jurisdiction in 1178. For fines levied on assarts and waste, they received on pardon of £4 and one pardon of £1.²⁴³ Randolf Poer reported in 1179 that the Templars had received a pardon of £14 to relieve their share of a fine levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in his jurisdiction of Hereford.²⁴⁴ Sheriff Robert de Witefeld of Oxfordshire reported in 1185 that the Templars had received a royal pardon of £1 to relieve their share of a fine levied on assarts in his territory.²⁴⁵ Reporting to the Exchequer on their own behalf during the Buckingham and Bedfordshire account in 1185, the Templars reported that they had received a royal pardon to clear a fine they had incurred for assarts and waste in Bedfordshire.²⁴⁶ Finally, William Ruffus cited a pardon of 1s extended to the Templars for a

²⁴⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 54.

²⁴¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 85.

²⁴²Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 96.

²⁴³Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 120.

²⁴⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 28, 41.

²⁴⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 108.

²⁴⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 34, 140.

fine on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in his 1186 report to the Exchequer on Buckingham and Bedfordshire.²⁴⁷ It is worth noting that while the Knights Templar benefitted from royal attention increasing after December 1170, when Archbishop Thomas Becket was assassinated, the increase in royal pardons they received does in fact correspond to the overall increase in pardons issued. It may be that as a religious order they received special attention from the penitent Henry II, or it may be that they merely received the same benefit as any wealth land magnate with *de facto* political influence.

Continuing on alphabetically, Alexander de Tichesia received a pardon of £1 5s in 1181 to relieve his share of a fine levied by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts, waste, and related offenses. Sheriff of Surrey, Gervase de Cornhill reported the pardon to the Exchequer.²⁴⁸

Stephen de Turnofra received a pardon of 6s 8d for his share of a fine assessed on assarts and related crimes. Robert de Stuteville reported the pardon along with other to the Exchequer in his account for Yorkshire in 1170.²⁴⁹ Stephen de Turnofra, served as chamberlain and seneschal, and appeared several times in the royal record.²⁵⁰

The sheriff of Surrey, reported that the crown had granted a pardon to Hamon de Valoign to clear part of his debt for a fine assessed by Thomas FitzBernard assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. Sheriff Gervase de Cornhill noted the 9s pardon in 1181.²⁵¹

²⁴⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 23.

²⁴⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 155.

²⁴⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 41.

²⁵⁰Eyton, 37, 53, 54, 161, 163, 204, 235, 257, 280.

²⁵¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 30, 155.

William Venatori received a pardon of £2 to relieve his share of a fine levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph. Hugo de Gundeville, sheriff of Northamptonshire, noted the pardon in his account to the Exchequer in 1175.²⁵²

Sheriff of Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire reported in 1160 a pardon extended to Geoffrey de Vere for fines levied on assarts. Sheriff Simon FitzPeter cited the 13s 4d pardon in his account to the Exchequer.²⁵³ Over twenty years later, Thomas FitzBernard, acting as sheriff of Northamptonshire, noted a pardon of 6s 8d extended to Henry de Vere to help clear debts for fines levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. Thomas FitzBernard reported the pardon in his 1182 Michaelmas account.²⁵⁴ Men in royal service did not always remain assets to the throne, worthy of a pardon. Four years later, the actions of Henry de Vere, constable of Gisors and noted to be a kinsman of William de Mandeville, complicated negotiations between Henry II and Philip II. Henry de Vere had recently killed Ralf, son of Richard de Vaus, a French knight, and his relationship with the prominent English Earl William complicated matters between the two kings.²⁵⁵

William de Vernon received a pardon of 13s 4d in 1175. Hugo de Bokeland, sheriff of Berkshire, reported the pardon at the Exchequer as one of multiple pardons granted to clear a

²⁵²Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 43.

²⁵³Pipe Rolls, vol. 2, 37.

²⁵⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 133.

²⁵⁵Eyton, 274.

fine levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest.²⁵⁶ William de Vernon was the brother of Baldwin, earl of Devon, and appeared in royal service on several occasions. He served as a witness on various charters and was appointed Justice of Normandy.²⁵⁷

Roger FitzUrban received pardons of 7s 6d and 10s in 1187 to clear his part of debts for fines levied on assarts. Sheriff William FitzStephen reported the pardons in his Gloucestershire account to the Exchequer.²⁵⁸

The sheriff of Warwick and Leicestershire reported a pardon of 8s 4d extended to Reginald FitzUrse to clear a fine assessed on assarts and waste in Leicestershire. Sheriff Bertrand de Verdun noted this pardon along with others in his 1170 report to the Exchequer.²⁵⁹ Three months later, FitzUrse would take part in the murder of Archbishop Thomas Becket in Canterbury.²⁶⁰

The canons and churches of Waltham benefitted more than once from royal pardons that relieved them from fines levied on assarts, waste, pleas of the forest, and related offenses. In 1177, as sheriff of Essex and Hertford, Robert Mantel reported that the Church of the Holy Cross of Waltham received a pardon of £1 4s to relieve its share of assart-related fines.²⁶¹ Mantel reported a second pardon of 2s 6d extended to the canons of Waltham in his 1180

²⁵⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 135.

²⁵⁷Eyton, 25n. See also 24, 25, 70, and 188.

²⁵⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 37, 137 and 140.

²⁵⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 15, 89.

²⁶⁰Warren, *Henry II*, 510.

²⁶¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 149.

report to the Exchequer as sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire.²⁶² William Ruffus, sheriff of Buckingham and Bedfordshire, reported in 1186 that the abbot of Waltham had received a pardon of 6s 8d to clear his part of fines assessed in Bedfordshire by Thomas FitzBernard on assart, waste, and pleas of the forest.²⁶³

The monks and abbots of the monastery of Waverley received pardons for fines levied on assarts, waste, pleas of the forest, and related offenses on multiple occasions as well. In 1172, Hugo de Gundeville, sheriff of Hampshire, reported that the crown had granted the monks a pardon of £7 to help alleviate fines levied in the forest of Hampshire.²⁶⁴ Sheriff of Southamptonshire Hugo de Gundeville reported a pardon of £19 17s extended to the abbots and monks in 1177.²⁶⁵ The same year, Gervase de Cornhill, sheriff of Surrey, reported that the monks received a pardon of £4 2s 4d to relieve fines levied by Thomas FitzBernard.²⁶⁶ In 1182, Geoffrey FitzAze reported in his account for Southamptonshire that the crown had granted the monks a pardon of £10, again to help with fines levied by Thomas FitzBernard, this time in the forest of Hampshire.²⁶⁷ Gervase de Cornhill, still sheriff of Surrey, cited in his 1182 report to the Exchequer a pardon of £2 extended to assist the monks with fines levied by

²⁶²Pipe Rolls, vol. 29, 3.

²⁶³Pipe Rolls, vol. 36, 23.

²⁶⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 18, 82.

²⁶⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 171.

²⁶⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 26, 196.

²⁶⁷Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 142.

Thomas FitzBernard.²⁶⁸

The bishop of Worcester twice received pardons for fines levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest. As sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, Robert Mantel reported to the Exchequer a pardon of 5s 3d granted to the bishop in 1171 to relieve fines levied by Alan de Neville and his associates in the forest of Essex.²⁶⁹ William FitzStephen, sheriff of Gloucestershire, cited a pardon of £5 extended to Bishop Baldwin to clear a fine of the same amount that had been levied by Thomas FitzBernard.²⁷⁰

In 1170, Alard FitzWilliam received a pardon of 10s to erase fines levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest in the forest of Hampshire. Sheriff Hugo de Gundeville reported the pardon in his account to the Exchequer. Alard FitzWilliam received a second pardon of £1 10s in 1175. Hugo de Gundeville again reported the pardon to the Exchequer in his Hampshire account of fines levied on assarts, waste, and pleas of the forest levied by Alan de Neville, Robert Mantel, and William FitzRalph.²⁷¹ Alard FitzWilliam moved in royal circles, and was present with Prince John and several others in 1182 to attest to Ranulph de Glanvill's foundation charter of Leystone Abbey.²⁷²

The bishopric of Winchester received several pardons to erase fines for assarts, waste, pleas of the forest, and related forest offenses. Robert Mantel, sheriff of Essex and

²⁶⁸Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 158.

²⁶⁹Pipe Rolls, vol. 16, 124.

²⁷⁰Pipe Rolls, vol. 31, 26.

²⁷¹Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 193.

²⁷²Eyton, 249.

Hertfordshire, cited among others a pardon of 4s extended to the bishop of Winchester to relieve fines levied in the forest of Essex.²⁷³ Sheriff of Wiltshire, Richard de Wilton, reported a pardon of £2 extended to the Richard, bishop of Winchester for fines related to illegal land clearance.²⁷⁴ Three years later, Hugo de Gundeville, serving as sheriff of Southamptonshire, reported at the Michaelmas 1178 meeting of the Exchequer two pardons extended to the bishop of Winchester to help clear accounts of fines levied on assarts, waste, and related offenses. The first totaled £46 3s 4d, and the second totaled £5.²⁷⁵ Gervase de Cornhill, sheriff of Surrey, cited in 1178 a pardon granted to Bishop Richard of 10s to erase a fine levied by Thomas FitzBernard on assarts and purprestures in his jurisdiction.²⁷⁶

As Henry II's growing government provided more information to the crown, it had to have become clear to royal accountants that the crown had a great deal of uncollected revenue. While the money was needed to fund Henry's campaigns on the continent, the king and his officials knew that the collection of this money would not be easy. Many debtors were the king's friends or ecclesiastical nobles, not the kind of men the crown wanted to prosecute. Some had sided with the king's sons during the rebellion, and perhaps the fines were levied as punishment but ultimately forgiven when the offenders repented. When one considers the chronological distribution of the pardons, it is quite possible that the large number of royal pardons issued during the 1170s represents an attempt to clear the Exchequer's slate.

²⁷³Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 75.

²⁷⁴Pipe Rolls, vol. 22, 102.

²⁷⁵Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 108 and 109.

²⁷⁶Pipe Rolls, vol. 27, 134.

CONCLUSION

Shuffling the data according to county and according to the names of those who received pardons has illuminated the evidence in ways a simple chronological narrative could not. Part I revealed information about the operation of the Exchequer and the economic importance of assessing fines on activities like assarting. Part II shows a more careful organization of the government and the activity of a politically motivated group of officials.

The counties closest to royal power recorded the most activity. Although these counties were heavily forested, the reason for the appearance of a great quantity of activity in central England is likely because royal foresters worked hardest in these counties, not because assarters worked hardest there. County narratives also reveal the reality that accounts on assarts carried forward year after year, dashing the false impression that each year a great deal of new assarting activity occurred. The narratives of several counties demonstrate clearly when new accounts appear and when the sheriff merely carries a debt.

When studying the assart fines in which the crown issued a pardon, it quickly becomes clear that the crown issued pardons to those with whom it had connections at some level. The fact that many monastic houses and ecclesiastical officials received pardons comes as no surprise, given the wealth and political clout of the medieval church and Henry's tenuous position with it after 1170. Often individuals who received pardons appear in varying degrees of royal service and often appear to have some relationship with the group of men who served as royal officials. Those who received pardons were never sheriffs, which indicates that sheriff's accounts were never forgiven. The only way a sheriff's accounts could be cleared by pardons was if the offender himself received the pardon.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

When Christopher Taylor wrote *Fields in the English Landscape* he noted in the book's preface that there were no significant works which discussed the most obvious feature of England's landscape, its fields. "There are books by the score on archaeological sites, houses, castles, railways and much else," he lamented, "but nothing that tells people in reasonably general terms about fields."¹ To the degree that he was correct twenty years ago, Taylor's words hold true today, for other than his own work, very little of note has since been written, especially in terms of medieval fields.² Given this trend, it is no shock to find that agricultural historians have commonly treated assarts only tangentially, and it is difficult to find significant discussion of them in the existing historiography. Even in cases where the author implies that they were quite important, the assumption is that readers will instinctively grasp the importance of these clearances without any real discussion of their impact.

At its inception, this study aimed to contribute to our overall knowledge of "agricultural history," in the traditional sense of the term, by broadening and clarifying the general picture we have of medieval land clearance and the growth of fields. The hope was to build a base of information that would allow for more accurate conclusions on topics such as deforestation, ecological impact, and the economic impact that the increased quantity of arable land had upon people at all levels of medieval society. As the research progressed, it soon

¹Christopher Taylor, *Fields in the English Landscape* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1975), preface.

²While there is a dearth of material on fields, the subject was not totally untouched prior to *Fields in the English Landscape*. Most notably, Taylor overlooked *The Open Fields* written by C. S. and C. S. Orwin, first published in 1938 with second and third editions in 1954 and 1967. His complaint about a lack of attention to the subject is nonetheless valid.

became clear that any examination of the available data would bear no such fruit. At the same time, patterns in the data made it clear that the information about illegal land clearance in the Pipe Rolls could be useful for other ends.

Nothing concerning agricultural history, deforestation, or the environmental impact of land clearance can be proven or even justly addressed with the data in the Pipe Rolls. The biased nature of the evidence, both over time and geographically, makes any such conclusions nearly pure conjecture. One could look at similar studies done in other areas and during other periods, such as those examining the rain forests of today, and conclude that the effect was probably in large part the same eight and a half centuries ago, but there is no contemporary evidence to support this conclusion. However, as the data accumulated the economic importance of assarting to the crown quickly emerged. Even in preliminary stages of this study, the quantity of money changing hands in the name of “assarts” and related activities proved overwhelming, and it was obvious that someone had missed something in the earlier cursory approaches to assarting. Throughout Henry II’s reign, the royal government collected no less than £3047 5s 5d for the treasury by way of fines levied on assarts and related crimes. Similarly, it returned £789 6s 1d to its subjects by way of pardons. According to some estimates, this sum may represent only about one percent of royal income for the entire reign, but if one considers that the Exchequer collected most of the money in the last twenty years of the reign it becomes a significantly larger portion of the crown’s revenue. More importantly than the total sum collected, however, is the process by which the funds were collected. This process is revealed in the Pipe Rolls.

In the early stages, the data appeared to reveal a very messy and disordered state of

affairs in twelfth-century English government. Indeed, any speculation about the development of medieval government would have led only to the statement that there must have been little development during this period at all. This initial impression does not reveal the reality of the situation, however. Under the closer scrutiny needed to transform the data into a narrative account of the activity, an underlying order in the data appeared. Long-term relationships between the crown and key men in the realm emerged, as did the relentless and highly organized nature of the Exchequer. While not the bureaucracy of a modern government, or even that of the contemporary Byzantine Empire, these men were not merely a hoard of feudal lords running about squeezing the peasantry and practicing extortion and racketeering on their weaker neighbors. They represent an organized body, on the whole working together for a single purpose. Because of them, the government in England chugged ahead throughout the Angevin period. With a king who spent most of his time on the Continent and in the face of revolts which divided the very group from whom the men running the government came, the government continued to function. It did not fold or crumble, and when Henry II died and his son and heir, Richard, immediately set off on crusade, the government ran in the absence of any king, in defiance at times of Prince John.

The government that developed during the reign of Henry II, while not a professional bureaucracy and regardless of how much hand the king may or may not have had in its evolution, nevertheless served the same purpose as a professional bureaucracy in that it offered a kind of consistency often absent in other medieval kingdoms. The Exchequer may be seen as an ideal example of how that government ran.

Let us turn to a summary of the data to see what else the numbers reveal about the

processes of assessing and collecting fines on illegally cleared land in twelfth-century England. The entries can be divided into three parts: Those before 1170, those from 1170 to 1178, and those from 1178 to 1188, the last Pipe Roll for Henry II's reign. No entries for assarts appear in the Pipe Rolls before 1159. Prior to 1170, entries are sporadic, varying greatly in number and sums owed each year. In 1170, the regular number of entries per year increases.³ That year the number of recorded items pertaining to assarts jumps to approximately thirty-two, and the number of entries remains in the upper teens or higher until 1178. Nothing clearly explains the 1170 increase in entries, but as noted above the jump may have had something to do with the effects of the Assize of Clarendon in 1166, the Inquest of Sheriffs in 1170, and the use of the assizes of *novel disseisin* and *mort d'ancestor*, all of which helped to further organize Henry II's administration. As royal officials carried out these assizes and inquests, it is only reasonable to conclude that the crown became increasingly aware of the illegal activities in the countryside. Possibly out of a desire to protect his holdings, but certainly because of his recognition of the potential revenue to be gained via fines and rents, Henry no doubt instructed his sheriffs, justiciars, and forest officials to pursue these matters.

The number of entries concerning assarts increases dramatically again in 1178, during which sixty-two entries were recorded.⁴ The entries in the Pipe Rolls for the remainder of the reign range in number from roughly thirty-seven to fifty-nine in 1187. In 1188 the number of entries drops back to six.⁵ The highest number recorded requires no explanation, given the

³Pipe Rolls, v. 15, *passim*.

⁴Pipe Rolls, v. 27, *passim*.

⁵Pipe Rolls, v. 38, *passim*.

annual activity reflected in the other years. The low number of entries for the last year is an anomaly. The reason for this low number during the last year of Henry's reign can probably be explained, at least in part, by the occurrences of the last few years of Henry's life. Henry was in conflict with his sons, Richard and John, as well as with Philip II, king of France.⁶ In addition, Jerusalem had fallen in 1187, and Henry was planning to go on crusade. Matters of royal administration—let alone forests and assarts—were probably not foremost in his mind. Likewise, many of the landholders may have been preparing to set off on crusade. These were the men both assessing fines and committing the violations, and it is possible that the activity in the countryside on both their parts may have actually decreased.

An increase in the overall number of entries per year occurs in 1170 and 1178, but so does the number of entries per county. Initially, a sheriff's reported assarts were recorded in one entry per regnal year. After 1170, more counties report money collected or owed for assarts, and after 1178, many sheriffs made two, three or more reports per year concerning assarts. Often they made one report for assarts they collected, and a second for money collected by, or for, foresters or individuals. The number of individuals or groups asked to make payments, or whom the king pardoned, also increases throughout the period. Often fines amount to no more than a few shillings, but in some cases the crown pardoned an infraction totaling several pounds. There are at least two hundred twenty-five instances in which the crown instructed sheriffs to pardon the assarting fines of individuals, abbots and monastic houses, or the Knights Templar. The fact that so many churches and the Knights Templar received fines is no surprise, given the climate of the day. Henry's strained

⁶W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London: Eyre Methuen Ltd., 1973), 615-626.

relationship with the church was a thing of legend, even before the assassination of Thomas Becket, and after the slaying Henry was forced to deal cautiously in church affairs. Forgiving debts for infractions against the crown no doubt seemed a reasonable and inexpensive way of keeping the church and the crusading order happy. As noted above, many of the individuals who received pardons for their fines came from the same class as those assessing the fines, though few actually served as sheriffs or justiciars. It is natural that men from the aristocracy, whose favor any medieval ruler certainly found necessary to the peaceful management of his realm, should curry the favor of a politically astute king such as Henry II.

Where did most assarting take place? Leaving money collected out of the equation for the moment, Berkshire and Northamptonshire had by far the highest number of entries. Eighty-two entries concerning assarts, including each pardon recorded separately, appear in the accounts of both Northamptonshire and Berkshire during the reign of Henry II. Next, sheriffs in Essex and Hertfordshire recorded eighty items, and in a distant fourth place sheriffs in Buckingham and Bedfordshire reported incidents which led to the recording of fifty-two. All of these areas contain royal forests, so the crown had a special interest in them, but fines collected for assarts are also reported in counties with no royal forests, and likewise only a few assarts are reported in other areas which are heavily forested. Some accounts, such as those of Cumberland, Sussex, and Cornwall, reveal fewer than a dozen entries, but most counties, such as Yorkshire, Shropshire, Oxford, and Hereford, have between twenty and thirty entries.

The amount of money collected by sheriffs was very small before 1170, and thereafter increased dramatically. Where counties had earlier reported sums of merely shillings, now

they did so in pounds, and in some cases hundreds of pounds. For example, that year Yorkshire reported £217 5s 6d owed for assarts.⁷ In 1175, Hampshire reported £206 17s 10d, and Northamptonshire reported £164 10s 7d.⁸ These numbers represent highs, of course. Most sheriffs reported accounts of under fifty pounds, but to give an “average” figure would be deceiving, because reported amounts vary so widely. Payments continued to increase in number during the 1170s. As the records proceed, one finds a general increase in the number of pounds collected per sheriff per entry, but both the huge sums paid and the very small sums paid essentially disappear. While the number is not absolute, it is safe to say that the royal treasury collected at least £3047 5s 5d for assarts and related activities. Although this does not appear to be a large sum to the modern eye, one can safely say that Henry II received a very healthy income from fines and rents levied on assarts. This indicates steady activity in the countryside on the part of royal officials, and would appear to confirm that illegal land clearance played a significant role in the deforestation of England in the second half of the twelfth century.

There are, of course, problems with the data one obtains from the Pipe Rolls. One must remember that the Pipe Rolls are royal documents and therefore reflect the king's changing interests. As the Angevin government increased its hold on England, royal officials no doubt became more thorough in executing their offices and more specific in their record keeping. This no doubt explains the increase in the number of entries concerning assarts. As the record proceeds, we also see increasing evidence of royal foresters doing their work. The

⁷Pipe Rolls, v. 15, 41.

⁸Pipe Rolls, v. 22, 193 and 43, respectively.

most famous of these is Alan de Neville, who appears numerous times in this narrative.

According the chronicler of Battle Abbey . . .

In those days Alan de Neville was chief among the king's foresters. By the power given him he most maliciously harried the various counties throughout England with countless and unaccustomed inquisitions. Since he feared neither God nor men, he spared neither ecclesiastical nor secular privileges.... This Alan never left off plaguing both ecclesiastics and laymen as long as he lived, in order to enrich the king. To please an earthly king he feared not to offend the king of heaven. But how much gratitude he earned from the king he thus strove to please, the outcome showed in the end. When he was dying, the brothers of a certain monastery, hoping (as one may well believe) to get for their house some of his wealth, went to the king and sought permission to bury his body among them. The king showed his feelings about him in his reply: "His wealth is going to be mine. You may have his corpse. The devils of hell may have his soul."⁹

Although his attacks on ecclesiastics are a repeated theme in the above quotation and may have colored the chronicler's impression of him, Alan de Neville was no doubt both a nasty character and tough man with whom to deal. Still, in the record of forest officials levying fines for forest infractions, Thomas FitzBernard, who merits no mention from the chronicler of Battle Abbey, appears to have been more active than Alan de Neville. While historians are rightly loath to make character judgments (let alone comment on degrees of evil), it cannot be denied that the man assessed as more evil by his contemporaries nevertheless proved less invasive to the purses of the crown's subjects. Thomas FitzBernard appears in the record assessing fines for illegal land clearance much more frequently than Alan de Neville. In any event the appearance of these foresters and men in their service appears to increase throughout the 1170s.

⁹Eleanor Searle, ed. and trans., *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1980), 221 and 223.

Information ascertained concerning how much assarting occurred in various geographic regions must also be used with the caveat that the Pipe Rolls reflect royal interests. The county which paid the most one year may have paid nothing the next. Obviously, this does not mean that the assarts in that county disappeared, nor does it mean the owners no longer needed to pay. Some counties paid large sums, and this surely indicates activity, but it may also reflect areas where the foresters chose to crack down in a given year, or areas the king wanted to penalize. These inconsistencies do, however, destroy any chance of finding a clear pattern by which to determine which counties actually had the most assarts and assarting activity. This fact is one of the things that precludes this study from making the kind of assessment of the situation it hoped to make at the outset and from drawing what agricultural historians might consider to be traditional conclusions about the developments of fields and levels of deforestation in various areas.

From the data found in the Pipe Rolls one cannot readily determine the number of acres of assarts in any given county. We know the penalty for assarting set forth by the Exchequer (one shilling per acre of wheat, sixpence per acre of oats).¹⁰ We can use simple arithmetic to calculate possible acreage. For example, in 1186 the sheriff of Warwick and Leicester, Michael Belet, reported an account of £ 1 9s for assarts.¹¹ Using the Exchequer's formula, this would indicate that he had collected a fine for twenty-nine acres of assarted ground used for wheat, or fifty-eight acres of assarted ground used for oat production.

¹⁰Charles Johnson, ed. and trans., *The Course of the Exchequer by Richard Fitz Nigel and the Establishment of the Royal Household*, revised ed., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 57.

¹¹Pipe Rolls, v. 36, 126.

Similarly, in 1160, Robert de Stafford, sheriff of Staffordshire, reported owing £30 for assarted ground.¹² It would appear that he had levied fines for 600 acres of land assarted for wheat production, or 1,200 acres of land used for oat production. This indicates that Robert had nearly one to two square miles of cleared land for which to account. However, the Pipe Rolls do not tell us whether a sheriff's payments covered debt for acres of oats or acres of wheat. Depending on the geographic location, there was likely some mixture of oat ground and wheat ground, to say nothing of other crops which were cultivated. One could use the long-established oat-bread line, discussed by William Kapelle, as a guide for whether the land in a given county might have likely been planted to oats or wheat.¹³ However, Kapelle notes the fluid nature of this line, and since a variety of other crops not mentioned by Richard FitzNigel play into the mix, that game seems futile, especially since further complicating the question of acreage is the fact that in a majority of the entries a blanket payment was recorded which covered "assarts and waste and pleas of the forest." Entries do not reveal what percentage of the payment went toward assarts, what percentage went toward waste, and what percentage covered pleas of the forest. Without this information, calculating the number of assart acres is impossible.

When faced with all the evidence provided by the Pipe Rolls, which itself leaves so many issues clouded, it is difficult to accept the lack of regard given to assarts by historians who have built their arguments solely from cartulary evidence. Post-twelfth-century charters

¹²Pipe Rolls, v. 2, 7.

¹³William E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 214-219.

may provide the number of acres and proposed rents, but this gives us a rather two-dimensional picture of land clearance. Charters cannot reveal the payments actually rendered thereafter, nor can they provide an account of land clearance over time, and such an account seems necessary in order to build a complete account of what happened to the land in twelfth-century England. The Pipe Rolls, for all their shortcomings, do exactly what charters cannot, by revealing activity over time. They demonstrate that works based solely on charters have not begun to scratch the surface of the available evidence, and thus, conclusions drawn and generalizations made in such studies are, at best, tainted.

Assarting was an important activity for a variety of reasons. It reflected changes in medieval economics and agriculture, as well as the changing relationship between economics and agriculture. In finding accurate answers to questions about assarting one may also find the answers to a variety of social questions, which have been touched on in the work of Thirsk and Bishop. For these reasons, historians must give assarts and assarting some much deserved attention. More importantly, assarting should not remain a subject about which assumptions are made based on a few charters and sixty-year-old research.

There was clearly a great deal of illegal land clearance during the reign of Henry II, despite the threats of the well-known forest laws and the possibility of a hefty fine, or worse. Although the appearance of steadily increasing activity in the Pipe Rolls is an illusion, created by the simultaneous increasing efficiency of Angevin government officials, the evidence that a great deal of illegal land clearance occurred between 1154 and 1189 cannot be disputed. In addition, the fact that so much activity was tolerated, even as the Crown's grip on the land tightened, can lead one to safely conclude that the early Angevins, like their descendants,

probably viewed assarting less as an invasion of their royal demesne, than as an infraction to be tolerated because of the income it generated.

From the beginning of this project, it was clear that to understand what the records in the Pipe Rolls might be able to tell us about issues beyond land clearance, such as the development of royal government, one must first understand what the state of the royal government was at the beginning of Henry II's reign. To accomplish this, one must examine more than just the Pipe Rolls. One needed to examine the available charters of Henry II, as well as the last years of the reign of King Stephen (1135-1154). The charters of Henry II provided little insight, both because there are few references to assarts and because the only available collection is for holdings in Normandy.¹⁴ However, historians are currently re-examining the period of transition between the reigns of Stephen and Henry II, and as it happens this study of assarts can offer valuable insight into this debate.

It is well known that many of Henry II's ideas were in fact the revival of policies begun under his grandfather, Henry I (1100-1135). The reign of Stephen, which separates those of Henry I and Henry II, has traditionally been seen as a time of civil war and anarchy due to the power struggle between claimants to the throne, Stephen and Matilda, Henry I's daughter. However, some now argue that there was no "anarchy" and no significant breakdown of government under Stephen. This perception of events goes step beyond previous hints at revision, such as Thomas Keefe's view that W. L. Warren's work was

¹⁴M. Léopold DeLisle, ed., *Recueil des Actes de Henri II, Roi de Angleterre et Duc de Normandie: Concernant les Provinces Françaises et les Affaires de France*, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1909). Volume I and II, *passim*. Around two dozen entries concern assarts.

“sympathetic” to Henry.¹⁵ Since in the early stages of this project, the data gave the appearance of a messy and disorganized rudimentary government, functioning in a haphazard manner, it was unclear to which side of the argument this study would ultimately contribute.

The foray into the reign of Stephen led to some interesting conclusions. The revisionists give a great deal of credit to Henry II for his achievements in the early years of his reign. They acknowledge that the situation he inherited left much to be desired, but they argue that much of the ground work for his success had been put in place by Stephen during the last four or five years of his reign. They wish to argue that Stephen should get credit where due and that the year 1154 should not be seen as so clear a turning point in English history.¹⁶ These arguments are not unreasonable. Clear lines of demarcation in history are often misleading, and this one would be too.

However, it appears that the revisionist assessment is ripe for misinterpretation because it hinges, at least in part, on semantics.¹⁷ It is based on the dictionary definition of the

¹⁵Thomas K. Keefe, *Feudal Assessments and the Political Community under Henry II and His Sons* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), 116. The late Dr. Keefe made a similar comment in “Shrine Time: Henry II’s Visits to Thomas Becket’s Tomb,” a paper delivered at the Thirty-Second International Congress on Medieval Studies, May 8-11, 1997 in Kalamazoo, Michigan.

¹⁶For a clear presentation of the reassessment of the period see Graeme J. White, *Restoration and Reform, 1153-1165: Recovery from Civil War in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), and David Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135-1154* (Harlow, England: Longman, 2000). One should also see Emilie Amt, *The Accession of Henry II in England: Royal Government Restored, 1149-1159*, (Woolridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1993), which takes a slightly more traditional view.

¹⁷See especially Graeme J. White, “The Myth of the Anarchy,” *Anglo-Norman Studies* XXII (2000), 323-337. This article emerged from a paper given in 1999 at the Battle Conference. White seems to back off slightly or at least qualify this argument in his work *Restoration and Reform*, which was published in 2000.

word “anarchy” and the fact that contemporary chroniclers did not use the Latin for that specific word (although they used some pretty strong language). The argument concludes that since events in Stephen’s reign do not fit the dictionary definition, it must not have been as bad as all that.

In the face of all the re-assessment of the reign of Stephen and the early government building days of the young Henry II, the analysis of the database and construction of the narrative presented here continued, and as it proceeded it became very clear that at least the revenue-collecting arm of Henry II’s government was neither rudimentary nor functioning haphazardly. With the records of the Exchequer serving as field glasses, one could easily see justiciars moving about on their rounds, forest officials and forest justices performing their duties, and sheriffs accounting to royal clerks in a most meticulous manner. To be sure, this was not a professional bureaucracy and not a modern government, but it was much more systematic than the traditional view of a feudal monarchy, such as the monarchy of France in the same period. In short, the Exchequer records provide evidence that the traditional view is correct. Revisionists may argue about small points surrounding the transition from one king to the next, and these points are important, but something new undeniably happened when Henry II took over.

The Pipe Rolls began under Henry I, from whose reign only one survives. No Pipe Rolls survive from Stephen’s reign, if they were even recorded. It seems unlikely that Stephen’s government recorded Pipe Rolls, although White points out that Stephen struggled to maintain financial administration and cites evidence from Henry II’s Pipe Rolls that implies

such accounts were kept under Stephen.¹⁸ He and others assert that many aspects of government continued under Stephen (hence, no “anarchy”). All those charters survive, it could be argued, which clearly proves that Stephen was functioning as a viable king.¹⁹ The problem with this argument is that charters usually indicate *ad hoc* solutions to problems, not a government policy.

This study argues that an effective government functions on consistent policy, not by consistently deciding matters on a case-by-case basis. Deciding matters in the second manner is consistent with a government one may describe as having more “feudal” characteristics, which is how Stephen’s reign has traditionally been interpreted. In addition, charters often indicate what, in a given case, the king is willing to give up. Sometimes, they even reflect a monarch’s recognition that he needs to give up a little in order to prevent even more from simply being taken. It could be argued that a king in such a situation is not ruling, he is hanging on. A monarch, faced with bounding nobles and civil war, attempting to “hang on,” is one way to interpret Stephen’s reign based on the accounts in the chronicles, although White and others may argue to the contrary.

¹⁸White, *Restoration*, 73-75, and 131. It is unclear from his text (p. 131) whether White is asserting that the Exchequer actually met throughout Stephen’s reign or that the troubled king did all he could to hold the realm’s finances together.

¹⁹These are collected in H. A. Cronne and H. W. C. Davis, eds., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154: Volume III, Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis ac Gaufridi et Henrici Ducum Normannorum, 1135-1154* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968). While the charters collected here deal with all aspects of the period, a number of references to “essart” or “assart” similar to that which appears in the collected charters of Henry II exists in this collection. Like those of Henry’s reign, they offer no information useful to a study of this nature and often appear to be grants extending rights after the fact or quitclaims forfeiting lands or rents.

Some may argue that the survival of so many charters indicates that those who received the charters recognized the need to have the document in the future. This is certainly the case. At the same time, they might assert that, when Henry II took over, the government pitched all the previous regime's records into the kindling pile, at Henry's command out of spite for Stephen and all he had done. This is utterly ridiculous. Henry may or may not have disliked Stephen, but from his agenda and the way his government operated it is clear that Henry would have recognized the value to himself of documents from the previous reign.

Although Stephen appears to have taken steps at the end of his reign to slow the already rampant decay of the monarchy, there appears to be no reason to think that these actions made Henry's success possible. The young Duke of Normandy had proven himself very politically adept by the time he became king of England, as White himself notes.²⁰ Without a doubt a fellow like this had a plan of action in mind that had little to do with what Stephen may or may not have left him. In the end, it was under Henry II that the Exchequer actually fully resumed its duties. From the outset, the Barons of the Exchequer appear to have known how to proceed, but as the reign of Henry II proceeded they became more adept. However, it is not merely thoroughness in recording of the Pipe Rolls that reflects the growth and function of the royal government. What one finds is an increase in the number of reports made by officials and an increase in the variety of officials who reported at the Exchequer every Michaelmas. As these records develop one perceives an evolving sense of purpose, at least on the part of the officials in charge of the Exchequer.

All of this study's findings indicate that the picture of assarting drawn by previous

²⁰White, *Restoration*, 3-4.

works is skewed, if not actually misleading. More importantly, the findings it has produced lead us to a better and clearer understanding of the larger questions concerning the development and operation of the early Angevin government. Again, this study has produced these results because no previous study has attempted to systematically assess data in the Pipe Rolls over time. The Pipe Rolls are a source that must still be explored if we are to fully grasp the development of medieval government in England.

Shire	Fine	Year	LbR	ShR	DaR	LbT	ShT	DaT	LbD	ShD	DaD	LbP	ShP	DaP
Yorkshire	4	1170	18	14	9	16	14	9		40				
Northumberland	3	1170	33	16		30				76				
Worcester	3	1170	84		20	77	10			66	8		45	
Worcester	3	1170											6	8
Worcester	3	1170											13	4
Hereford in Wales	2	1170	52	9	8		60		48	16	4		13	4
Oxford	3	1170	36	2		33	2			20			20	
Berkshire	1	1170							12	3	5			
Nottingham and Derby	2	1170	9	13	4	9	13	4						
Warwick and Leicester	1	1170		25	6		25	6						
Warwick and Leicester	2	1170	6	2	8	4	8						26	4
Warwick and Leicester	2	1170											8	4
Cambridge and Huntingdon	2	1170	22		18	7	5	2	10	3		4	13	4
Essex and Hertford	3	1170	44	10	2	7	17	6	36		12		11	8
Hamptonshire	3	1170	152	15	8	112	15	4	33	5			40	
Hamptonshire	3	1170											10	
Hamptonshire	3	1170											17	4
Hamptonshire	3	1170											20	
Hamptonshire	3	1170											3	
Hamptonshire	3	1170											6	8
Hamptonshire	3	1170											6	8
Hamptonshire	3	1170											6	8
Hamptonshire	3	1170											25	
Stafford	2	1170	109	4	10	57	7	4	22	17	6	25	6	8
Stafford	2	1170										3	6	8
Stafford	2	1170											6	8
Stafford	2	1170	109	4	10	57	7	4	22	17	6	25	6	8
Stafford	2	1170										3	6	8
Stafford	2	1170											6	8
Shropshire	2	1170	90	9		73	14	4	10	8			66	8
Shropshire	2	1170											20	
Shropshire	2	1170											40	
Shropshire	2	1170	10	8			53	4		100	16		53	4
Somerset	3	1171	108	4	3	72	10		19		11	6	13	4
Somerset	3	1171										6	13	4
Somerset	3	1171											40	
Somerset	3	1171											26	8
Wiltshire	3	1171	15	10	2	9	10	2	4	6	8		26	8
Wiltshire	3	1171											6	8
Shropshire	2	1171		100	16		40			66	4			
Hampton	3	1171	33	5		7	7	8	25	17	4			
Rutland	2	1171								46	8			

Shire	Fine	Year	LbR	ShR	DnR	Lb T	Sh T	Dn T	LbD	ShD	Dn D	Lb P	Sh P	Dn P
Northampton	2	1171		23			3						20	
Stafford	2	1171	22			11	17		9	13	10		26	8
Buckingham and Bedford	3	1171	9	7		4	6	8		100	4			
Yorkshire	4	1171		40			6	8		33	4			
Northumberland	4	1171		76			76							
Hereford in Wales	2	1171	48	16	4	16	3		32	13	3			
Berkshire	1	1171	12	3	5		26	8	10	16	9			
Berkshire	1	1171										80		
Berkshire	3	1171	21	13	6		61	6	18	12				
Warwick and Leicester	1	1171		29			29							
Worcester	3	1171		66	8		66	8						
Cambridge and Huntingdon	2	1171	10	3					9	18			5	
Essex and Hertford	3	1171	151	17	5		40		100	9	1		15	
Essex and Hertford	3	1171											40	
Essex and Hertford	3	1171											10	
Essex and Hertford	3	1171											2	6
Essex and Hertford	3	1171											5	3
Essex and Hertford	3	1171											52	10
Essex and Hertford	3	1171											102	
Essex and Hertford	3	1171												9
Essex and Hertford	3	1171	100	9	1				80	39	9	18	9	4
Oxford	3	1171		20						13	4		6	8
Hereford in Wales	2	1172							32	13	4			
Nottingham and Derby	2	1172	13	6	8							13	6	8
Nottingham and Derby	1	1172	10	16	9		26	8	9	10	1			
Nottingham and Derby	1	1172			80									80
Nottingham and Derby	3	1172	18	12			40		15	5	4		26	8
Worcester	3	1172								13	4			
Rutland	2	1172								46	8			
Essex and Hertford	3	1172	4	12	8				35	2			57	6
Buckingham and Bedford	3	1172		100	4				40				60	4
Yorkshire	4	1172								33	4			
Dorset and Somerset	3	1172	19		11	16	19	1		3	2		32	
Dorset and Somerset	3	1172											6	8
Hampshire	3	1172	25	17	4		58	9	15	18	7	7		
Devenshire	3	1172	6	4	2		26	8	4	17	4			
Stafford	2	1172	9	13	10		103	4	4	10	6			
Warwick and Leicester	1	1172		29			29							
Shropshire	2	1172								61	4			
Cambridge and Huntingdon	2	1172							9	18				
Wiltshire	3	1172							4	6	8			

Shire	Fine	Year	LbR	ShR	DnR	Lb T	Sh T	Dn T	LbD	ShD	Dn D	Lb P	Sh P	Dn P
Berkshire	4	1177											25	
Berkshire	4	1177											47	6
Berkshire	4	1177											33	
Berkshire	4	1177											109	6
Berkshire	4	1177											50	
Hereford in Wales	2	1177							32	13	4			
Yorkshire	3	1177								33	4			
Yorkshire	3	1177		35	4		7			28	4			
Northumberland	3	1177		105	1		53	5		51	8			
Northampton	3	1177	18	9	1	8	14	1	9	15				
Wiltshire	3	1177							12	10	10			
Rutland	2	1177								46	8			
Stafford	2	1177								63				
Essex and Hertford	3	1177								23				
Essex and Hertford	4	1177	108	10	6	60	14	4	8	15	6		68	2
Essex and Hertford	4	1177										17	11	
Essex and Hertford	4	1177											60	
Essex and Hertford	4	1177											60	
Essex and Hertford	4	1177											24	
Essex and Hertford	4	1177											34	
Essex and Hertford	4	1177											47	6
Essex and Hertford	4	1177											24	
Essex and Hertford	4	1177											7	6
Essex and Hertford	4	1177											16	
Essex and Hertford	4	1177											15	
Essex and Hertford	4	1177											18	
Essex and Hertford	4	1177											10	
Essex and Hertford	4	1177											22	
Essex and Hertford	4	1177											8	6
Essex and Hertford	4	1177												6
Essex and Hertford	4	1177											5	6
Essex and Hertford	4	1177											9	
Buckingham and Bedford	2	1177		20			20							
Buckingham and Bedford	4	1177	15	3	6	8	6			47	6	4	10	
Southampton	3	1177	14	10			20		13	10				
Southampton	4	1177	88	8	4	47	4		20	12	4	19	17	
Southampton	4	1177											15	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	2	1177								38				
Surrey	4	1177	55	5	5	16	6		13	5	11		75	
Surrey	4	1177											30	
Surrey	4	1177											40	
Surrey	4	1177										14	6	2
Surrey	4	1177										4	2	4

Shire	Fine	Year	LbR	ShR	DaR	Lb T	Sh T	Dn T	LbD	ShD	Dn D	Lb P	Sh P	DnP
Devenshire	3	1178								13	4			
Devenshire	4	1178	4	12	2		6	6		28			57	8
Wiltshire	3	1178	12	10	10				80	12	4	2		
Wiltshire	4	1178								56				
Essex and Hertford	3	1178								113				
Essex and Hertford	3	1178								23				
Essex and Hertford	4	1178	8	15	6		43	4	6	12	2			
Essex and Hertford	4	1178	6	12	2				4	15	2		37	
Dorset and Somerset	4	1178									80			
Dorset and Somerset	4	1178		3			3							
Worcester	2	1178	47	13	4	19	16	6	27	16	10			
Northampton	3	1178	9	15			20		8	15				
Northampton	2	1178	143	14	10	98			87	6	10	10		
Northampton	2	1178											70	
Northampton	2	1178										8		12
Northampton	2	1178										6	10	
Northampton	2	1178											4	
Northampton	2	1178											3	
Northampton	2	1178										17	10	
Northampton	2	1178											3	4
Northampton	2	1178										12	6	8
Northampton	2	1178	87	6	10				83	10	10		76	
Northampton	2	1178	83	10	10		40		80	30	10			
Gloucester	2	1178	27	11	2	8	3	10	12	17	4	4	10	
Gloucester	2	1178											40	
Northumberland	3	1178								51				
Rutland	2	1178								46	8			
Yorkshire	3	1178								33	4			
Yorkshire	3	1178		28	4		4			24	4			
Yorkshire	2	1178	87	17	8	80	104	2					50	
Yorkshire	2	1178											3	6
Warwick and Leicester	1	1178		19			19							
Warwick and Leicester	2	1178	11	11	6	9	5	6		46				
Shropshire	2	1178								61	4			
Shropshire	2	1178	27	11	7	26	8	2					13	
Shropshire	2	1178											10	6
Nottingham and Derby	2	1178	58	2	4	52	11	2		74	6		20	
Nottingham and Derby	2	1178											26	8
Buckingham and Bedford	2	1178	27	4	6	20	18	6	6	6				
Buckingham and Bedford	2	1178	6	6					5	12	8		13	4

	Fine	Year	LbR	ShR	DnR	Lb T	Sh T	Dn T	LbD	ShD	Dn D	Lb P	Sh P	Dn P
Buckingham and Bedford	4	1178		47	6					40	6		7	
Shire														
Stafford	2	1178								63				
Stafford	2	1178	33	13	4	25	15		7	18	4			
Hereford in Wales	2	1178							32	13	4			
Hereford in Wales	3	1178	28	9	8	4	9	8	15			6		
Hereford in Wales	3	1178											60	
Berkshire	1	1178		56	9		26	8		30	1			
Berkshire	3	1178							7					
Berkshire	3	1178								13	4			
Berkshire	4	1178							4	18	6			
Berkshire	3	1178	11	3	4	7	10	8		72	8			
Southampton	3	1178	65		16		29		17		9	46	3	4
Southampton	4	1178	20	12	4		74	6	11	17	10		100	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	4	1178		6	9		3				21		2	
Oxford	2	1178	38	8		21	3	4	10	13	1	4		
Oxford	2	1178											20	
Oxford	2	1178											30	
Cumberland	2	1178	12	4	8	12	4	8						
Surrey	2	1178	19	2	8	8			6	2	8		53	4
Surrey	2	1178											26	8
Surrey	2	1178											13	4
Surrey	2	1178											6	8
Surrey	4	1178	13	5	11	4			8	15	11		10	
Devenshire	3	1179								13	4			
Devenshire	4	1179		28			7	6		20	10			
Yorkshire	3	1179								33	4			
Yorkshire	3	1179								24	4			
Northumbriand	3	1179								51				
Cambridge and Huntingdon	4	1179									21			
Sussex	3	1179							8	11	8			
Hereford in Wales	2	1179							32	13	4			
Hereford in Wales	3	1179	15				20					14		
Shropshire	2	1179								61	4			
Essex and Hertford	3	1179								113				
Essex and Hertford	3	1179								23				
Essex and Hertford	4	1179	4	15	2		9		4	6	2			
Wiltshire	3	1179							12	4	2			
Wiltshire	4	1179								61				
Northampton	3	1179	8	15			20		7	15				
Northampton	2	1179	80	30	10		115		75	15	9			

Northampton	2	1179	75	15	9					75	13	9		2			
Dorset and Somerset	4	1179				80											80
Shire		Fine	Year	LbR	ShR	DaR	Lb T	Sh T	Da T	LbD	ShD	Da D	Lb P	Sh P	DaP		
Rutland	2	1179									46	8					
Buckingham and Bedford	2	1179								5	12	8					
Nottingham and Derby	2	1179		74	6		66	4		8	2						
Berkshire	1	1179		30	1		26	8		3	5						
Berkshire	3	1179								7							
Berkshire	3	1179									13	4					
Berkshire	4	1179	4	18	6		13	6	4	5							
Berkshire	3	1179		72	8		6	8		66							
Gloucester	2	1179	12	17	4		40			10	17	4					
Gloucester	2	1179	10	17	4						117	4			100		
Worcester	2	1179	27	16	10		10			27	6	10					
Oxford	2	1179	10	14	1		24			9	10	1					
Stafford	2	1179									64						
Southampton	3	1179	11	15	4		13	8	11			20					
Southampton	3	1179	17	9			31			14	8					30	
Southampton	4	1179	11	17	10		24			8	19	10				15	
Southampton	4	1179														12	
Southampton	4	1179														7	
Warwick and Leicester	1	1179		29			29										
Surrey	2	1179	6	2	8						47	8				75	
Surrey	4	1179	8	15	11					8	9	11				6	
Essex and Hertford	3	1180		113					18		111	6					
Essex and Hertford	3	1180									23						
Essex and Hertford	4	1180	4	6	2		7	8		76					2	6	
Essex and Hertford	4	1180								80	19	2					
Shropshire	2	1180									61	4					
Shropshire	4	1180									58	4	6				
Stafford	2	1180									63						
Stafford	3	1180								29	9	8					
Oxford	3	1180	7	10	1		4	1	7	6							
Oxford	4	1180								35	3	4					
Sussex	3	1180								8	11	8					
Cambridge and Huntingdon	4	1180										21					
Cambridge and Huntingdon	3	1180								24	3	4					
Berkshire	4	1180		3	5		3	5									
Berkshire	3	1180								7							
Berkshire	3	1180		13	4		13	4									
Berkshire	4	1180	4	5			2		4	3							
Berkshire	3	1180		66			10			56							

Berkshire	3	1180							27	5	10							
Surrey	4	1180	8	9	11	4	2	5	4	7	6							
Shire		Year	LbR	ShR	DaR	Lb T	Sh T	Dn T	LbD	ShD	Dn D	Lb P	Sh P	Dn P				
Surrey	2	1180		47	8		26	8			21							
Surrey	4	1180							38	7	8							
Cumberland	3	1180							33	15	8							
Worcester	2	1180							27	6	10							
Worcester	4	1180							40	11	4							
Northampton	3	1180							7	15								
Northampton	4	1180							96		6							
Rutland	2	1180		46	8		46	8										
Rutland	3	1180							14	3	10							
Devenshire	3	1180								13	4							
Devenshire	4	1180								20	10							
Devenshire	4	1180							14	5	8							
Cornwall	4	1180							30	14	4							
Warwick and Leicester	2	1180		36			12			24								
Gloucester	2	1180		117	4		10			107	4							
Gloucester	4	1180							18	13	10							
Hereford in Wales	2	1180							32	13	4							
Hereford in Wales	4	1180							11	4	4							
Wiltshire	3	1180							12	4	2							
Wiltshire	4	1180								61								
Wiltshire	4	1180							38	15	6							
Buckingham and Bedford	4	1180									6							
Buckingham and Bedford	2	1180		110	32			80		106								
Buckingham and Bedford	4	1180							25	13	4							
Buckingham and Bedford	4	1180							27	10	2							
Southampton	3	1180	11		20		20		10		20							
Southampton	3	1180	14	8			32	11	12	15	1							
Southampton	4	1180	8	19	10		3		8	16	10							
Southampton	4	1180							100	16	11							
Nottingham and Derby	2	1180								8	2							
Northumberland	3	1180								51								
Northumberland	4	1180							15	11	10							
Hereford in Wales	2	1181							32	13	4							
Hereford in Wales	4	1181	11	4	4	8	19	4		15								30
Nottingham and Derby	2	1181		8	2		8	2										
Shropshire	2	1181								61	4							
Shropshire	4	1181	58	4	6	57	11	2		13	4							
Worcester	2	1181							27	6	10							
Cumberland	3	1181	33	15	8	9	16	6	23	19	2							

Devenshire	3	1181								13	4						
Devenshire	4	1181		20	10		6			14	10						
Shire		Fine	Year	LbR	ShR	DnR	Lb T	Sh T	Dn T	LbD	ShD	Dn D	Lb P	Sh P	DnP		
Devenshire	3	1181		14	6	8	10	5	4	4		4					
Corwall	4	1181		30	14	4	20			10	14	4					
Yorkshire	3	1181									33	4					
Yorkshire	3	1181									24	4					
Northumberland	3	1181									61						
Northumberland	4	1181		15	11	10	13	14	8								
Northampton	3	1181		7	15			19	3	6	15	9					
Northampton	2	1181		73	5	3		23	8	72		19					
Northampton	4	1181		96		6	68	18	6	9	16				116	8	
Northampton	4	1181													40		
Northampton	4	1181													3		
Northampton	4	1181											7	3	4		
Northampton	4	1181													26	8	
Northampton	4	1181													3		
Northampton	4	1181								9	2	8			13	4	
Northampton	4	1181													13	4	
Warwick and Leicester	1	1181			29			29									
Warwick and Leicester	2	1181									24						
Warwick and Leicester	1	1181			6			6									
Rutland	3	1181		14	3	10	4	6	10	4	13				100		
Rutland	3	1181													4		
Wiltshire	3	1181								12	4	2					
Cambridge and Huntingdon	4	1181										21					
Cambridge and Huntingdon	3	1181		24	3	4	14	16	6	7	7	10			39		
Cambridge and Huntingdon	3	1181		7	7	10		13	4	6	14	6					
Essex and Hertford	4	1181		20	19	11		51		18	8	11					
Essex and Hertford	4	1181		80	19	2	46	13	7	20	19	11	6	7	2		
Essex and Hertford	4	1181													4		
Essex and Hertford	4	1181													14	6	
Essex and Hertford	4	1181													40		
Essex and Hertford	4	1181											4				
Stafford	2	1181									63						
Stafford	4	1181		29	9	8	21	9		8		8					
Gloucester	2	1181			107	4					100				7	4	
Gloucester	4	1181		18	14	10	12	11	3		108	3			15	4	
Buckingham and Bedford	4	1181										6					
Buckingham and Bedford	2	1181			106			4			102						
Buckingham and Bedford	4	1181		25	13	4	8	17	10	16	15	6					
Buckingham and Bedford	4	1181		27	10	2	23	15			75	2					

Southampton	3	1181	10		20		43	4	7	18	4							
Southampton	3	1181	12	15	1		75	4	13	19	9							
Shire		Fine	Year	LbR	ShR	DnR	Lb T	Sh T	Dn T	LbD	ShD	Dn D	Lb P	Sh P	Dn P			
Southampton	4	1181	8	16	10			8	8	8	8	2						
Berkshire	3	1181	7					13	4	6	6	8						
Berkshire	4	1181	4	3				5			78							
Berkshire	2	1181		56				39	4		16	8						
Berkshire	3	1181	27	5	10	20	4	4	6	18	6					3		
Sussex	4	1181	8	11	8	6	11	8								40		
Surrey	4	1181	4	7	6		64	6		23								
Surrey	2	1181									21							
Surrey	4	1181	38	7	8	19	15			16	18	8				25		
Surrey	4	1181															9	
Hereford in Wales	2	1182								32	13	4						
Hereford in Wales	4	1182		15				5			10							
Shropshire	4	1182		13	4			13	4									
Gloucester	4	1182		108	3			63	9		24	6				13	4	
Gloucester	4	1182														6	8	
Gloucester	2	1182		100												100		
Devenshire	3	1182									13	4						
Devenshire	4	1182		14	10				12		13	10						
Devenshire	3	1182	4		4		42				22	4				16		
Stafford	4	1182		115	8		59	8		56								
Stafford	4	1182		56					18	54	6							
Yorkshire	3	1182									33	4						
Yorkshire	3	1182									24	4						
Northumberland	4	1182		37	2		37	2										
Cambridge and Huntingdon	3	1182	6	14	6		42			4	12	6						
Worcester	2	1182	27	6	10		57	4	24	9	6							
Worcester	4	1182	40	11	4	22		4	18	11								
Cornwall	3	1182	10	14	4	6	14	4	4									
Wiltshire	4	1182									61							
Wiltshire	3	1182									111	8						
Warwick and Leicester	2	1182									24							
Essex and Hartford	3	1182		20				9			11							
Essex and Hartford	3	1182									111	6						
Essex and Hartford	4	1182		40	6		10	6		30								
Essex and Hartford	3	1182	18	8	11		68	11	15									
Berkshire	3	1182	6	6	8		13	4		113	4							
Berkshire	4	1182		78				5			73							
Berkshire	2	1182									16	8						
Berkshire	3	1182	6	18	6		63	2		73	4					2		

Oxford	3	1183								7	6						
Oxford	4	1183										57	10				
Hereford in Wales	2	1183										32	13	4			
Shire			Fine	Year	LbR	ShR	DnR	Lb T	Sh T	Dn T	LbD	ShD	Dn D	Lb P	Sh P	DnP	
Hereford in Wales	4	1183											10				
Devenshire	3	1183											13	4			
Devenshire	4	1183											13	10			
Devenshire	4	1183			22	4		11	2			11	2				
Northampton	3	1183			35	7		13	8			21	11				
Northampton	2	1183	50			4		161	4	41	19						
Northampton	4	1183			55	2		3	6			51	8				
Wiltshire	4	1183											61				
Wiltshire	3	1183			111	8		8				103	8				
Worcester	2	1183									24	9	6				
Worcester	3	1183	18	11			6	4	8	12	6	4					
Berkshire	3	1183			113	4		13	4			100					
Berkshire	4	1183			73			9				64					
Berkshire	2	1183			16	8		11	8			5					
Berkshire	3	1183			73	4		3	6			69	10				
Southampton	3	1183										7	18	4			
Southampton	3	1183										6	11	10			
Southampton	4	1183										7	15	2			
Southampton	3	1183	19	15	2		8	8	19	6	6						
Cambridge and Huntingdon	3	1184	4	12	6							39	6			53	
Hereford in Wales	2	1184										32	13	4			
Hereford in Wales	4	1184											10				
Yorkshire	3	1184											33	4			
Yorkshire	3	1184			23	4		2				21	4				
Warwick and Leicester	1	1184			29			29									
Berkshire	4	1184			100			13	4	4	6	8					
Berkshire	4	1184										64					
Berkshire	2	1184										5					
Gloucester	4	1184										24					
Worcester	2	1184									24	9	6				
Worcester	4	1184	12	6	4		53	2	9	13	2					3	
Stafford	4	1184											54	6			
Oxford	3	1184										7	6				
Oxford	4	1184											57	10			
Devenshire	3	1184											13	4			
Devenshire	4	1184											13	10			
Devenshire	4	1184											11	2			

Southampton	3	1184								7	18	4					
Southampton	3	1184	6	11	10		2	6	6	9	4						
Southampton	4	1184								7	15	2					
Southampton	3	1184	19	6	6		41	3	17	5	3						
Shire		Fine	Year	LbR	ShR	DnR	Lb T	Sh T	Dn T	LbD	ShD	Dn D	Lb P	Sh P	DnP		
Cornwall	3	1184		60				20			40						
Wiltshire	4	1184									33						
Northampton	3	1184		21	11			5			16	11					
Northampton	2	1184						10	11	24	14	9					
Northampton	2	1184	41	19			16	13	4	25	5	8					
Northampton	4	1184		51	8						38	4		13	4		
Rutland	3	1184									65						
Buckingham and Bedford	4	1184									6						
Buckingham and Bedford	2	1184		3	4			3	4								
Buckingham and Bedford	3	1184		14	10				6		14	4					
Buckingham and Bedford	3	1184									26	9					
Essex and Hertford	3	1184									11						
Essex and Hertford	3	1184		111	6									111	8		
Essex and Hertford	3	1184									11	9					
Essex and Hertford	4	1184	11	3	2			30		9	13	2					
Surrey	2	1184									10						
Surrey	4	1184	4	4				12			72						
Surrey	2	1184									10						
Essex and Hertford	4	1185									11	9					
Essex and Hertford	4	1185	9	13	2			59	4	6	13	10					
Berkshire	4	1185	4	6	8			6	8	4							
Berkshire	4	1185									64						
Berkshire	3	1185		69	10			2	6		67	4					
Northampton	3	1185									16	11					
Northampton	2	1185								24	14	9					
Northampton	4	1185		38	4			14			24	4					
Northampton	1	1185		150							3	4	7	6	8		
Northampton	1	1185		72				54	2		17	10					
Northampton	4	1185	28		3	21	4	9	6	15	6						
Northampton	4	1185	6	15	6			4		6	11	6					
Northampton	2	1185	52		16	52		16									
Rutland	3	1185									65						
Cambridge and Huntingdon	3	1185									29	6					
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1	1185		9				9									
Cambridge and Huntingdon	3	1185		45	9			36	3		9	6					
Cambridge and Huntingdon	3	1185	9	5	6	6	19	9		45	9						

Yorkshire	3	1185										21	4				
Warwick and Leicester	1	1185	25				12					13					
Warwick and Leicester	4	1185	58				53					5					
Oxford	3	1185									7	6					
Oxford	4	1185										57	10				
Shire		Fine	Year	LbR	ShR	DnR	Lb T	Sh T	Dn T	LbD	ShD	Dn D	Lb P	Sh P	DnP		
Oxford	1	1185		20												20	
Oxford	4	1185		102				62	6		37	6					
Worcester	3	1185								24	9	6					
Worcester	4	1185	9	13	2		24	4	8	8	10						
Worcester	1	1185								13	15	6					
Worcester	1	1185									20						
Worcester	1	1185		92	7		92	7									
Shropshire	1	1185		100				100									
Shropshire	1	1185									5						
Shropshire	1	1185										12					
Shropshire	1	1185									2						
Shropshire	3	1185	9	17	6	6			4		77	2					
Shropshire	1	1185										12					
Buckingham and Bedford	4	1185			6												6
Buckingham and Bedford	3	1185									14	4					
Buckingham and Bedford	3	1185		26	9		20				6	9					
Buckingham and Bedford	4	1185	15	2		10	5			4	17						
Buckingham and Bedford	4	1185	8	8	3		102	6			53	3		12	6		
Buckingham and Bedford	2	1185		45											45		
Gloucester	1	1185	13	10	6	4	19	6	8	11							
Northumberland	1	1185		48	9		48	9									
Stafford	4	1185		54	6		33	6		21							
Sussex	4	1185		58	6		29			29	6						
Wiltshire	4	1185		33			15				18						
Wiltshire	1	1185									37						
Wiltshire	4	1185	23		3	15			4	7	14	11		5			
Hereford in Wales	2	1185									32	13	4				
Hereford in Wales	4	1185									10						
Hereford in Wales	1	1185		79	6		22	5			57	1					
Cornwall	3	1185		40				20			20						
Southampton	4	1185									7	15	2				
Southampton	3	1185	7	18	4		9	4	7	9							
Southampton	3	1185	6	9	4				12	6	8	4					
Southampton	3	1185	17	5	3	8	14	3	8	11							
Southampton	3	1185	8	11			20			7	11						
Southampton	4	1185	31	13	4	27	7	3	4	6	1						

Southampton	4	1185	4	6	1		3		4	3	1						
Surrey	2	1185									10						
Surrey	2	1185									10						
Surrey	4	1185									72						
Stafford	4	1186									21						
Shire																	
Northampton	3	1186		16	11				23		15						
Northampton	2	1186	24	14	9			12		24	2	9					
Northampton	4	1186									24	4					
Northampton	1	1186		3	4			3	4								
Northampton	1	1186		17	10			17	10								
Northampton	4	1186	6	11	6	6	2	3		9	3						
Northampton	4	1186		9	3			9	3								
Essex and Hertford	3	1186	6	13	10			13		6		10					
Buckingham and Bedford	3	1186		14	4						7	8		6	8		
Buckingham and Bedford	3	1186									6	9					
Buckingham and Bedford	3	1186		7	8						6	8				12	
Buckingham and Bedford	4	1186	4	17				65		32							
Buckingham and Bedford	4	1186		53	3			7	6	45	9						
Hereford in Wales	1	1186									57	1					
Hereford in Wales	4	1186		10				3	4		6	8					
Cambridge and Huntingdon	3	1186									29	6					
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1	1186									35	3					
Cambridge and Huntingdon	3	1186		9	6			6	6		3						
Worcester	3	1186								24	9	6					
Worcester	1	1186								23	15	6					
Worcester	1	1186									20						
Berkshire	4	1186	4					20			60						
Berkshire	4	1186									64						
Berkshire	3	1186									67	4					
Rutland	3	1186									65						
Yorkshire	3	1186									21	4					
Oxford	3	1186								7	6						
Oxford	4	1186									57	10					
Oxford	4	1186		37	6			5			32	6					
Gloucester	1	1186	8	11							111				60		
Warwick and Leicester	1	1186		29			29										
Warwick and Leicester	4	1186		5				4				12					
Warwick and Leicester	1	1186		13				13									
Cornwall	4	1186		20				20									
Wiltshire	4	1186									28						

Wiltshire	1	1186		37	6						7	6		30
Wiltshire	4	1186	7	14	11		17	5	6	17	6			
Southampton	4	1186								7	15	2		
Southampton	3	1186								7	9			
Southampton	3	1186	7	11		112	2			38	10			
Shire														
		Year	LbR	ShR	DnR	Lb T	Sh T	Dn T	LbD	ShD	Dn D	Lb P	Sh P	DnP
Southampton	4	1186	4	3	1		20	3		56	10		6	
Sussex	4	1186								29	6			
Surrey	2	1186								10				
Surrey	2	1186								10				
Surrey	4	1186								72				
Buckingham and Bedford	3	1187								6	8			
Buckingham and Bedford	3	1187		6	9		5				21			
Buckingham and Bedford	4	1187		32			4	6		27	6			
Buckingham and Bedford	4	1187								45	9			
Buckingham and Bedford	1	1187	8	13	6		77	8	4	15	10			
Oxford	3	1187							7	6				
Oxford	3	1187								57	10			
Oxford	4	1187								32	6			
Shropshire	2	1187								51	5			
Shropshire	1	1187	12	10	6	7	14	1	4	16	6			
Cambridge and Huntingdon	3	1187								29	6			
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1	1187								35				
Cambridge and Huntingdon	3	1187								3				
Cambridge and Huntingdon	2	1187								11	8			
Yorkshire	3	1187								21	4			
Northampton	3	1187		15			3	6		11	6			
Northampton	2	1187							24	2	9			
Northampton	4	1187								24	4			
Sussex	4	1187		29	6		9	6		20				
Rutland	3	1187								65				
Warwick and Leicester	1	1187		29			29							
Warwick and Leicester	4	1187									12			
Warwick and Leicester	4	1187	7	19		7	19							
Essex and Hertford	3	1187	6		10		7			113	10			
Hereford in Wales	4	1187								6	8			
Hereford in Wales	1	1187								57	1			
Hereford in Wales	1	1187	4		3		30	6		49	9			
Gloucester	1	1187		111			6	6	4	14	6		10	
Gloucester	1	1187	11	13			74		7	11	6		7	6
Stafford	3	1187								21				

Stafford	1	1187	4	2	3		40	9		41	6							
Nottingham and Derby	1	1187		40				15			25							
Wiltshire	4	1187									18							
Wiltshire	4	1187		100	20		40	4		61	4							
Berkshire	4	1187		60				30			30							
Shire		Fine	Year	LbR	ShR	DnR	Lb T	Sh T	Dn T	LbD	ShD	Dn D	Lb P	Sh P	DnP			
Berkshire	4	1187										64						
Berkshire	3	1187										67	4					
Southampton	3	1187									7	9						
Southampton	4	1187		7	15	2		20			6	15	2					
Southampton	3	1187										38	10					
Southampton	4	1187			56	10		19				37	10					
Surrey	2	1187										10						
Surrey	2	1187										10						
Surrey	4	1187										72						
Worcester	3	1187	24	9	6		6	8	24	2	10							
Worcester	4	1187								8	2	2						
Worcester	1	1187								23	15	6						
Worcester	1	1187			20			20										
Worcester	1	1187	26	13	11	7	13			19		11						
Wiltshire	4	1188										28						
Wiltshire	3	1188										5	8					
Wiltshire	4	1188		61	4		34	2		27	2							
Berkshire	4	1188		30				23	4		6	8						
Berkshire	4	1188										64						
Oxford	4	1188										32	6					

APPENDIX B: DATA SORTED BY SHIRE

Information in the table below represents the data sorted according to shire and secondarily sorted by year, as presented in the narrative of Part II of this study.

The following abbreviations are used for the various headings:

Shire = County or Shire in which the account was reported.

Year = The year in which the fine was reported.

LbR, ShR & DnR = Pounds, Shillings, and Pennies Rendered in the account.

LbT, ShT & DnT = Pounds, Shillings, and Pennies submitted to the treasury.

LbD, ShD & DnD = Pounds, Shillings, and Pennies of debt remaining.

LbP, ShP & DnP = Pounds, Shillings, and Pennies pardoned on the account.

Forest = What forest, if any, the offenses were specified to have occurred in.

Fine = The nature of the fine (1 = Assarts; 2 = Assarts and Waste; 3 = Assarts, Waste, and Pleas of the Forest; 4 = Assarts and other offenses).

SHIRE	Year	LbR	ShR	DnR	LbT	ShT	DnT	LbD	ShD	DnD	LbP	ShP	DnP	FOREST	Fine
Berkshire	1167	13	6	8		10		12	16	8					1
Berkshire	1168							12	16	8					1
Berkshire	1169	12	16	8		13	3	12	3	5					1
Berkshire	1170							12	3	5					1
Berkshire	1171	12	3	5		26	8	10	16	9					1
Berkshire	1171									80					1
Berkshire	1171	21	13	6		61	6	18	12						3
Berkshire	1173	9	10	1		26	8	8	3	5					4
Berkshire	1173	15	5	4		26	8	12	2			36	8		3
Berkshire	1174	8	3	5		26	8	6	16	9					1
Berkshire	1174	12	2			26	8	10	15	4					3
Berkshire	1174							100	6	1					3
Berkshire	1175	10	15	4		30		9	5	4					3
Berkshire	1175	100	6	1	60	15	8	9		19		34			3
Berkshire	1175											65			3
Berkshire	1175											33			3
Berkshire	1175											32			3
Berkshire	1175											4			3
Berkshire	1175											13	4		3
Berkshire	1175										13		16		3
Berkshire	1175										40				3
Berkshire	1175										17	4			3
Berkshire	1175										4	14	6		3
Berkshire	1175											13	4		3
Berkshire	1176		110	1		26	8		4	3	5				1
Berkshire	1176	8	12			13	4	7	18	8					3

SHIRE	Year	LbR	ShR	DaR	LbT	ShT	DaT	LbD	ShD	DaD	LbP	ShP	DaP	FOREST	Fine
Berkshire	1176	9	5	4		6	8	8	12					80	3
Berkshire	1177	4	3	5		26	8		66	9					1
Berkshire	1177	7	18	8		12		7						80	3
Berkshire	1177	52	15	8	22	12	10	4	18	6	7	19			4
Berkshire	1177											18			4
Berkshire	1177											48	4		4
Berkshire	1177											8			4
Berkshire	1177											6			4
Berkshire	1177											25			4
Berkshire	1177											47	6		4
Berkshire	1177											33			4
Berkshire	1177											109	6		4
Berkshire	1177											50			4
Berkshire	1178		56	9		26	8		30	1					1
Berkshire	1178							7							3
Berkshire	1178								13	4					3
Berkshire	1178							4	18	6					4
Berkshire	1178	11	3	4	7	10	8		72	8					3
Berkshire	1179		30	1		26	8		3	5					1
Berkshire	1179							7							3
Berkshire	1179								13	4					3
Berkshire	1179	4	18	6		13	6	4	5						4
Berkshire	1179		72	8		6	8		66						3
Berkshire	1180		3	5		3	5								4
Berkshire	1180							7							3
Berkshire	1180		13	4		13	4								3
Berkshire	1180	4	5			2		4	3						4
Berkshire	1180		66			10			56						3
Berkshire	1180							27	5	10					3
Berkshire	1181	7				13	4	6	6	8					3
Berkshire	1181	4	3			5			78						4
Berkshire	1181		56			39	4		16	8					2
Berkshire	1181	27	5	10	20	4	4	6	18	6		3			3
Berkshire	1182	6	6	8		13	4		113	4					3
Berkshire	1182		78			5			73						4
Berkshire	1182								16	8					2
Berkshire	1182	6	18	6		63	2		73	4		2			3
Berkshire	1183		113	4		13	4		100						3
Berkshire	1183		73			9			64						4
Berkshire	1183		16	8		11	8		5						2
Berkshire	1183		73	4		3	6		69	10					3
Berkshire	1184		100			13	4	4	6	8					4

SHIRE	Year	LbR	ShR	DaR	Lb T	Sh T	Da T	LbD	ShD	Da D	Lb P	Sh P	Da P	FOREST	Fine
Berkshire	1184							64							4
Berkshire	1184							5							2
Berkshire	1185	4	6	8		6	8	4							4
Berkshire	1185							64							4
Berkshire	1185		69	10		2	6	67	4						3
Berkshire	1186	4				20		60							4
Berkshire	1186							64							4
Berkshire	1186							67	4						3
Berkshire	1187		60			30		30							4
Berkshire	1187							64							4
Berkshire	1187							67	4						3
Berkshire	1188		30			23	4	6	8						4
Berkshire	1188							64							4
Buckingham and Bedford	1164									80					1
Buckingham and Bedford	1165			80			80								1
Buckingham and Bedford	1170	21	3	6	10	5	10	9	7			30	8	Bedfordshire	3
Buckingham and Bedford	1170	31	4	3	25	8	1		57	10		58	4	Buckingham	3
Buckingham and Bedford	1171	9	7		4	6	8		100	4					3
Buckingham and Bedford	1172		100	4				40				60	4	Bedford	3
Buckingham and Bedford	1173							40							3
Buckingham and Bedford	1174							40							3
Buckingham and Bedford	1175							40							3
Buckingham and Bedford	1177		20			20									2
Buckingham and Bedford	1177	15	3	6	8	6		47	6	4	10				4
Buckingham and Bedford	1178	27	4	6	20	18	6	6	6					Buckingham	2
Buckingham and Bedford	1178	6	6					5	12	8		13	4	Buckingham	2
Buckingham and Bedford	1178		47	6				40	6		7			Bedfordshire	4
Buckingham and Bedford	1179							5	12	8					2
Buckingham and Bedford	1180									6					4
Buckingham and Bedford	1180		110	32			80		106						2
Buckingham and Bedford	1180							25	13	4					4
Buckingham and Bedford	1180							27	10	2					4
Buckingham and Bedford	1181									6					4
Buckingham and Bedford	1181		106			4			102					Buckingham	2
Buckingham and Bedford	1181	25	13	4	8	17	10	16	15	6					4
Buckingham and Bedford	1181	27	10	2	23	15			75	2					4
Buckingham and Bedford	1182									6					4
Buckingham and Bedford	1182		102		4	18			3	4					2
Buckingham and Bedford	1182		39	4		24	6		14	10					3
Buckingham and Bedford	1182		68	6		41	9		26	9					4

	1183	6														4
Buckingham and Bedford SHIRE	Year	LbR	ShR	DnR	Lb T	Sh T	Dn T	LbD	ShD	Dn D	Lb P	Sh P	Dn P	FOREST	Fine	
Buckingham and Bedford	1183								3	4					2	
Buckingham and Bedford	1183								14	10					3	
Buckingham and Bedford	1183								26	9					4	
Buckingham and Bedford	1184								6						4	
Buckingham and Bedford	1184		3	4		3	4								2	
Buckingham and Bedford	1184		14	10			6		14	4					3	
Buckingham and Bedford	1184								26	9					3	
Buckingham and Bedford	1185			6									6		4	
Buckingham and Bedford	1185								14	4					3	
Buckingham and Bedford	1185		26	9		20			6	9					3	
Buckingham and Bedford	1185	15	2		10	5		4	17						4	
Buckingham and Bedford	1185	8	8	3		102	6		53	3		12	6		4	
Buckingham and Bedford	1185		45									45			2	
Buckingham and Bedford	1186		14	4					7	8		6	8		3	
Buckingham and Bedford	1186								6	9					3	
Buckingham and Bedford	1186		7	8					6	8				12 Buckinghamsh'	3	
Buckingham and Bedford	1186	4	17			65			32						4	
Buckingham and Bedford	1186		53	3		7	6		45	9					4	
Buckingham and Bedford	1187								6	8					3	
Buckingham and Bedford	1187		6	9		5				21					3	
Buckingham and Bedford	1187		32			4	6		27	6					4	
Buckingham and Bedford	1187								45	9					4	
Buckingham and Bedford	1187	8	13	6		77	8	4	15	10					1	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1164									80					1	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1165			80									80		1	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1167			160			160								1	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1170	22		18	7	5	2	10	3		4	13	4		2	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1172							9	18						2	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1177	10	13	8	8	17	5		6	9		25	6		4	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1177											4			4	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1176	9	18			53	4		38			53	4	Huntingdon	2	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1176										2	13	4	Huntingdon	2	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1177								38						2	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1178		6	9		3				21		2			4	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1179									21					4	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1180									21					4	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1180							24	3	4					3	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1181									21					4	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1181	24	3	4	14	16	6	7	7	10		39		Huntingdon	3	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1181	7	7	10		13	4	6	14	6				Huntingdon	3	

SHIRE	Year	LbR	ShR	DnR	Lb T	Sh T	Dn T	LbD	ShD	Dn D	Lb P	Sh P	Dn P	FOREST	Fine
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1182	6	14	6		42		4	12	6					3
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1183							4	12	6					3
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1184	4	12	6					39	6		53			3
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1185								29	6					3
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1185		9			9									1
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1185		45	9		36	3		9	6				Huntingdon	3
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1185	9	5	6	6	19	9		45	9				Huntingdon	3
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1186								29	6					3
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1186								35	3					1
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1186		9	6		6	6		3						3
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1187								29	6					3
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1187								35						1
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1187								3						3
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1187								11	8					2
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1171	10	3					9	18			5			2
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1173							9	18						2
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1174							9	18						2
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1175							9	18						2
Carlisle	1163		13	4		13	4								1
Carlisle	1170	40	14	4	35	14	4					100		Carlisle	3
Cornwall	1180							30	14	4					4
Cornwall	1182	10	14	4	6	14	4	4							3
Cornwall	1183	4				20			60						3
Cornwall	1184		60			20			40						3
Cornwall	1185		40			20			20						3
Cornwall	1186		20			20								Cornwall	4
Cornwall	1181	30	14	4	20			10	14	4					4
Cumberland	1178	12	4	8	12	4	8								2
Cumberland	1180							33	15	8					3
Cumberland	1181	33	15	8	9	16	6	23	19	2					3
Cumberland	1182	23	19	2	23	19	2								3
Devenshire	1172	6	4	2		26	8	4	17	4				Devenshire	3
Devenshire	1173							4	17	4					3
Devenshire	1174							4	17	4					3
Devenshire	1175							4	17	4					3
Devenshire	1176							4	17	4					3
Devenshire	1177	4	17	4		26	8		71						3
Devenshire	1177		71						13	4		57	8		3
Devenshire	1177		116	2		24		4	12	2					4
Devenshire	1178								13	4					3

Devenshire	1178	4	12	2		6	6		28			57	8			4
Devenshire	1179								13	4						3
SHIRE	Year	LbR	ShR	DaR	Lb T	Sh T	Da T	LbD	ShD	Da D	Lb P	Sh P	Da P	FOREST		Fine
Devenshire	1179		28			7	6		20	10						4
Devenshire	1180								13	4						3
Devenshire	1180								20	10						4
Devenshire	1180							14	5	8						4
Devenshire	1181								13	4						3
Devenshire	1181		20	10		6			14	10						4
Devenshire	1181	14	6	8	10	5	4	4		4						3
Devenshire	1182								13	4						3
Devenshire	1182		14	10			12		13	10						4
Devenshire	1182	4		4		42			22	4		16				3
Devenshire	1183								13	4						3
Devenshire	1183								13	10						4
Devenshire	1183		22	4		11	2		11	2						4
Devenshire	1184								13	4						3
Devenshire	1184								13	10						4
Devenshire	1184								11	2						4
Dorset and Somerset	1172	19		11	16	19	1		3	2		32				3
Dorset and Somerset	1172											6	8			3
Dorset and Somerset	1173								3	2						3
Dorset and Somerset	1174								3	2						3
Dorset and Somerset	1175		3	2								3	2			3
Dorset and Somerset	1177		103	8		76	6			80		20	6			4
Dorset and Somerset	1177		75			72			3							4
Dorset and Somerset	1178									80						4
Dorset and Somerset	1178		3			3										4
Dorset and Somerset	1179			80									80			4
Essex and Hertford	1169	77	19	11	23	3	1	44	10	2		40				3
Essex and Hertford	1169										8	3	8			3
Essex and Hertford	1169											2				3
Essex and Hertford	1169												12			3
Essex and Hertford	1170	44	10	2	7	17	6	36		12		11	8			3
Essex and Hertford	1171	151	17	5		40		100	9	1		15		Essex		3
Essex and Hertford	1171											40		Essex		3
Essex and Hertford	1171											10		Essex		3
Essex and Hertford	1171											2	6	Essex		3
Essex and Hertford	1171											5	3	Essex		3
Essex and Hertford	1171											52	10	Essex		3
Essex and Hertford	1171											102		Essex		3
Essex and Hertford	1171												9	Essex		3

Essex and Hertford	1171	100	9	1				80	39	9	18	9	4	Essex	3
Essex and Hertford	1172	4	12	8					35	2		57	6		3
SHIRE	Year	LbR	ShR	DuR	Lb T	Sh T	Du T	LbD	ShD	Du D	Lb P	Sh P	Du P	FOREST	Fire
Essex and Hertford	1173								35	2				Essex	3
Essex and Hertford	1173							48	5	8					3
Essex and Hertford	1174								35	2					3
Essex and Hertford	1174							48	5	8					3
Essex and Hertford	1175								35	2					4
Essex and Hertford	1175	48	5	8		51	1	42	15			4		Essex	3
Essex and Hertford	1175											7	6	Essex	3
Essex and Hertford	1176		35	2		2	6		23			9	8		3
Essex and Hertford	1176	42	15		7		20	27		13	6	13	4	Essex	3
Essex and Hertford	1176											35	11	Essex	3
Essex and Hertford	1176											3		Essex	3
Essex and Hertford	1176	27		13		16	9	26	4	4				Essex	3
Essex and Hertford	1177								23						3
Essex and Hertford	1177	108	10	6	60	14	4	8	15	6		68	2		4
Essex and Hertford	1177										17	11			4
Essex and Hertford	1177											60			4
Essex and Hertford	1177											60			4
Essex and Hertford	1177											24			4
Essex and Hertford	1177											34			4
Essex and Hertford	1177											47	6		4
Essex and Hertford	1177											24			4
Essex and Hertford	1177											7	6		4
Essex and Hertford	1177											16			4
Essex and Hertford	1177											15			4
Essex and Hertford	1177											18			4
Essex and Hertford	1177											10			4
Essex and Hertford	1177											22			4
Essex and Hertford	1177											8	6		4
Essex and Hertford	1177												6		4
Essex and Hertford	1177											5	6		4
Essex and Hertford	1177											9			4
Essex and Hertford	1178								113						3
Essex and Hertford	1178								23						3
Essex and Hertford	1178	8	15	6		43	4	6	12	2				Essex	4
Essex and Hertford	1178	6	12	2				4	15	2		37		Essex	4
Essex and Hertford	1179								113						3
Essex and Hertford	1179								23						3
Essex and Hertford	1179	4	15	2		9		4	6	2					4
Essex and Hertford	1180							80	19	2				Essex	4
Essex and Hertford	1181	20	19	11		51		18	8	11				Essex	4
Essex and Hertford	1181	80	19	2	46	13	7	20	19	11	6	7	2	Essex	4
Essex and Hertford	1181											4		Essex	4

	Year	LbR	ShR	DaR	Lb T	Sh T	Da T	LbD	ShD	Da D	Lb P	Sh P	Da P	FOREST	Fine
Essex and Hertford SHIRE	1181													14 6 Essex	4
Essex and Hertford	1181													40 Essex	4
Essex and Hertford	1181										4			Essex	4
Essex and Hertford	1183		11			2		9							3
Essex and Hertford	1183							111		6					3
Essex and Hertford	1183		30			18	3	11		9					4
Essex and Hertford	1183	15				76	10	11	3	2					4
Essex and Hertford	1180		113				18	111		6					3
Essex and Hertford	1180							23							3
Essex and Hertford	1180	4	6	2		7	8	76				2	6		4
Essex and Hertford	1182		20			9		11							3
Essex and Hertford	1182							111		6					3
Essex and Hertford	1182		40	6		10	6	30							4
Essex and Hertford	1182	18	8	11		68	11	15							3
Essex and Hertford	1184							11							3
Essex and Hertford	1184		111	6								111	8		3
Essex and Hertford	1184							11		9					3
Essex and Hertford	1184	11	3	2		30		9	13	2					4
Essex and Hertford	1185							11		9					4
Essex and Hertford	1185	9	13	2		59	4	6	13	10					4
Essex and Hertford	1186	6	13	10		13		6		10					3
Essex and Hertford	1187	6		10		7		113		10					3
Gloucester	1160			1280				100						80	1
Gloucester	1178	27	11	2	8	3	10	12	17	4	4	10			2
Gloucester	1178											40			2
Gloucester	1179	12	17	4		40		10	17	4					2
Gloucester	1179	10	17	4				117		4		100			2
Gloucester	1180		117	4		10		107		4					2
Gloucester	1180							18	13	10					4
Gloucester	1181		107	4				100				7	4		2
Gloucester	1181	18	14	10	12	11	3	108	3	15	4				4
Gloucester	1182		108	3		63	9	24	6	13	4				4
Gloucester	1182											6	8		4
Gloucester	1182		100									100			2
Gloucester	1183		24	6			6	24							4
Gloucester	1184							24							4
Gloucester	1185	13	10	6	4	19	6	8	11						1
Gloucester	1186	8	11					111				60			1
Gloucester	1187		111			6	6	4	14	6		10			1
Gloucester	1187	11	13			74		7	11	6		7	6		1
Hampshire	1172	25	17	4		58	9	15	18	7	7			Hampshire	3

SHIRE	Year	LbR	ShR	DaR	Lb T	Sh T	Da T	LbD	ShD	Da D	Lb P	Sh P	Da P	FOREST	Fine
Hampton	1171	33	5		7	7	8	25	17	4					3
Hampton	1174							15							3
Hampton	1175	15				10		14	10						3
Hampton	1176							14	10						3
Hamptonshire	1170	152	15	8	112	15	4	33	5			40		Hampshire	3
Hamptonshire	1170											10		Hampshire	3
Hamptonshire	1170											17	4	Hampshire	3
Hamptonshire	1170											20		Hampshire	3
Hamptonshire	1170											3		Hampshire	3
Hamptonshire	1170											6	8	Hampshire	3
Hamptonshire	1170											6	8	Hampshire	3
Hamptonshire	1170											6	8	Hampshire	3
Hamptonshire	1170											25		Hampshire	3
Hamptonshire	1173							15							3
Hamptonshire	1174							206	17	10					3
Hamptonshire	1175	206	17	10	64	6		113	8	6		13	4		3
Hamptonshire	1175										2				3
Hamptonshire	1175											26	8		3
Hamptonshire	1175											20			3
Hamptonshire	1175											13	4		3
Hamptonshire	1175											46	8		3
Hamptonshire	1175											26	8		3
Hamptonshire	1175											30			3
Hamptonshire	1175											100			3
Hamptonshire	1175										13	6	8		3
Hamptonshire	1176	113	8	6	22	8	4	76	8		9	7	2		3
Hamptonshire	1176											100			3
Hereford in Wales	1170	52	9	8		60		48	16	4		13	4		2
Hereford in Wales	1171	48	16	4	16	3		32	13	3					2
Hereford in Wales	1172							32	13	4					2
Hereford in Wales	1173							32	13	4					2
Hereford in Wales	1174							32	13	4					2
Hereford in Wales	1175							32	13	4					2
Hereford in Wales	1176							32	13	4					2
Hereford in Wales	1177							32	13	4					2
Hereford in Wales	1178							32	13	4					2
Hereford in Wales	1178	28	9	8	4	9	8	15			6				3
Hereford in Wales	1178											60			3
Hereford in Wales	1179							32	13	4					2
Hereford in Wales	1179	15				20					14				3
Hereford in Wales	1180							32	13	4					2
Hereford in Wales	1180							11	4	4					4

Northampton	1187	15			3	6		11	6									3
Northampton	1187							24	2	9								2
SHIRE	Year	LbR	ShR	DaR	Lb T	Sh T	Dn T	LbD	ShD	Dn D	Lb P	Sh P	Dn P	FOREST				Fine
Northampton	1187								24	4								4
Northampton	1186		9	3		9	3											4
Northampton and Beckingham	1160	53	6	8	31	10	2					26	8					1
Northampton and Beckingham	1160											20						1
Northampton and Beckingham	1160											13	4					1
Northampton and Beckingham	1160											10						1
Northampton and Beckingham	1160											40						1
Northampton and Beckingham	1160											27						1
Northampton and Beckingham	1160											53	4					1
Northampton and Beckingham	1160											66	8					1
Northampton and Beckingham	1160											26	8					1
Northampton and Beckingham	1160											26	8					1
Northampton and Beckingham	1160											13	4					1
Northampton and Beckingham	1160											6	8					1
Northampton and Beckingham	1160											20						1
Northampton and Beckingham	1160											26	8					1
Northampton and Beckingham	1160											59	6					1
Northumberland	1170	33	16		30				76								Northumberland	3
Northumberland	1171		76			76												4
Northumberland	1174							75	7	4								3
Northumberland	1175	75	7	3	67	7	10	7	19	5								3
Northumberland	1176	7	19	5		54	4		105	1								3
Northumberland	1177		105	1		53	5		51	8								3
Northumberland	1178								51									3
Northumberland	1180								51									3
Northumberland	1181								61									3
Northumberland	1181	15	11	10	13	14	8											4
Northumberland	1182		37	2		37	2											4
Northumberland	1185		48	9		48	9											1
Northumberland	1179								51									3
Northumberland	1180							15	11	10								4
Nottingham and Derby	1160	20	4	8	8	18			20			13	4					1

	1160	60											1		
Nottingham and Derby SHIRE	Year	LbR	ShR	DaR	LbT	ShT	DaT	LbD	ShD	DaD	LbP	ShP	DaP	FOREST	Fine
Nottingham and Derby	1160										6	13	4		1
Nottingham and Derby	1161		20									20			1
Nottingham and Derby	1170	9	13	4	9	13	4								2
Nottingham and Derby	1172	13	6	8							13	6	8		2
Nottingham and Derby	1172	10	16	9		26	8	9	10	1					1
Nottingham and Derby	1172			80									80		1
Nottingham and Derby	1172	18	12			40		15	5	4		26	8	Berchac' (de)	3
Nottingham and Derby	1178	58	2	4	52	11	2		74	6		20			2
Nottingham and Derby	1178											26	8		2
Nottingham and Derby	1179		74	6		66	4		8	2					2
Nottingham and Derby	1180								8	2					2
Nottingham and Derby	1181		8	2		8	2								2
Nottingham and Derby	1187		40			15			25						1
Oxford	1170	36	2		33	2			20			20		Oxford	3
Oxford	1171		20						13	4		6	8		3
Oxford	1173								13	4					3
Oxford	1174								13	4					3
Oxford	1175								13	4					3
Oxford	1176								13	4					3
Oxford	1177		13	4								13	4		3
Oxford	1178	38	8		21	3	4	10	13	1	4				2
Oxford	1178											20			2
Oxford	1178											30			2
Oxford	1179	10	14	1		24		9	10	1					2
Oxford	1180	7	10	1		4	1	7	6						3
Oxford	1180							35	3	4					4
Oxford	1182							7	6						3
Oxford	1182								57	10					4
Oxford	1183							7	6						3
Oxford	1183								57	10					4
Oxford	1184							7	6						3
Oxford	1184								57	10					4
Oxford	1185							7	6						3
Oxford	1185								57	10					4
Oxford	1185		20									20			1
Oxford	1185		102			62	6		37	6					4
Oxford	1186							7	6						3
Oxford	1186								57	10					4
Oxford	1186		37	6		5			32	6					4
Oxford	1187							7	6						3

SHIRE	Year	LbR	SbR	DaR	Lb T	Sb T	Da T	LbD	SbD	Da D	Lb P	Sb P	Da P	FOREST	Fine
Oxford	1187								57	10					3
Oxford	1187								32	6					4
Oxford	1188								32	6					4
Rutland	1160		13	4		13	4								1
Rutland	1170	8	16	8	4				46	8		50			2
Rutland	1171								46	8					2
Rutland	1172								46	8					2
Rutland	1173								46	8					2
Rutland	1174								46	8					2
Rutland	1176								46	8					2
Rutland	1177								46	8					2
Rutland	1178								46	8					2
Rutland	1179								46	8					2
Rutland	1180		46	8		46	8								2
Rutland	1180							14	3	10					3
Rutland	1181	14	3	10	4	6	10	4	13			100			3
Rutland	1181											4			3
Rutland	1183								65						3
Rutland	1184								65						3
Rutland	1185								65						3
Rutland	1186								65						3
Rutland	1187								65						3
Shropshire	1171		100	16		40			66	4					2
Shropshire	1160			800			320			480					1
Shropshire	1170	90	9		73	14	4	10	8			66	8		2
Shropshire	1170											20			2
Shropshire	1170											40			2
Shropshire	1170	10	8			53	4		100	16		53	4		2
Shropshire	1172								61	4					2
Shropshire	1173								61	4					2
Shropshire	1174								61	4					2
Shropshire	1175								61	4					2
Shropshire	1176								41	4					2
Shropshire	1177								61	4					2
Shropshire	1178								61	4					2
Shropshire	1178	27	11	7	26	8	2					13			2
Shropshire	1178											10	6		2
Shropshire	1179								61	4					2
Shropshire	1180								61	4					2
Shropshire	1180							58	4	6					4
Shropshire	1181								61	4					2

SHIRE	Year	LbR	ShR	DaR	Lb T	Sh T	Da T	LbD	ShD	Da D	Lb P	Sh P	Da P	FOREST	Fine
Shropshire	1181	58	4	6	57	11	2	13	4						4
Shropshire	1182		13	4		13	4								4
Shropshire	1185		100			100									1
Shropshire	1185							5							1
Shropshire	1185									12					1
Shropshire	1185							2							1
Shropshire	1185	9	17	6	6		4	77	2						3
Shropshire	1185									12					1
Shropshire	1187							51	5						2
Shropshire	1187	12	10	6	7	14	1	4	16	6					1
Somerset	1171	108	4	3	72	10		19		11	6	13	4	Dorset	3
Somerset	1171										6	13	4	Dorset	3
Somerset	1171										40			Dorset	3
Somerset	1171										26		8	Dorset	3
Southampton	1177	14	10			20		13	10						3
Southampton	1177	88	8	4	47	4		20	12	4	19	17			4
Southampton	1177										15				4
Southampton	1178	65		16		29		17		9	46	3	4		3
Southampton	1178	20	12	4		74	6	11	17	10		100		Hampshire	4
Southampton	1179	11	15	4		13	8	11		20					3
Southampton	1179	17	9			31		14	8			30			3
Southampton	1179	11	17	10		24		8	19	10		15			4
Southampton	1179											12			4
Southampton	1179											7			4
Southampton	1180	11		20		20		10		20					3
Southampton	1180	14	8			32	11	12	15	1					3
Southampton	1180	8	19	10		3		8	16	10					4
Southampton	1180							100	16	11					4
Southampton	1181	10		20		43	4	7	18	4					3
Southampton	1181	12	15	1		75	4	13	19	9					3
Southampton	1181	8	16	10		8	8	8	8	2					4
Southampton	1182							7	18	4					3
Southampton	1182	8	19	9		35	11	6	11	10		12		Hantscr'	3
Southampton	1182	8	8	2		4						9			4
Southampton	1182	43	14	7		50	3	29	25	2	10			Hantscr'	4
Southampton	1182											129	10	Hantscr'	4
Southampton	1182												640	Hantscr'	4
Southampton	1182											33		Hantscr'	4
Southampton	1182											12		Hantscr'	4
Southampton	1183							7	18	4					3
Southampton	1183							6	11	10					3

SHIRE	Year	LbR	ShR	DnR	Lb T	Sh T	Dn T	LbD	ShD	Dn D	Lb P	Sh P	Dn P	FOREST	Fine
Southampton	1183							7	15	2					4
Southampton	1183	19	15	2		8	8	19	6	6					3
Southampton	1184							7	18	4					3
Southampton	1184	6	11	10		2	6	6	9	4					3
Southampton	1184							7	15	2					4
Southampton	1184	19	6	6		41	3	17	5	3					3
Southampton	1185							7	15	2					4
Southampton	1185	7	18	4		9	4	7	9						3
Southampton	1185	6	9	4			12	6	8	4					3
Southampton	1185	17	5	3	8	14	3	8	11						3
Southampton	1185	8	11			20		7	11						3
Southampton	1185	31	13	4	27	7	3	4	6	1					4
Southampton	1185	4	6	1		3		4	3	1					4
Southampton	1186							7	15	2					4
Southampton	1186							7	9						3
Southampton	1186	7	11		112	2			38	10					3
Southampton	1186	4	3	1		20	3		56	10		6			4
Southampton	1187							7	9						3
Southampton	1187	7	15	2		20		6	15	2					4
Southampton	1187								38	10					3
Southampton	1187		56	10		19			37	10					4
Stafford	1160	30			20	13	4								1
Stafford	1170	109	4	10	57	7	4	22	17	6	25	6	8		2
Stafford	1170										3	6	8		2
Stafford	1170											6	8		2
Stafford	1170	109	4	10	57	7	4	22	17	6	25	6	8		2
Stafford	1170										3	6	8		2
Stafford	1170											6	8		2
Stafford	1171	22			11	17		9	13	10		26	8		2
Stafford	1172	9	13	10		103	4	4	10	6					2
Stafford	1173	4	10	6		13	4		77	2					2
Stafford	1174		77	2		13	4		63	10					2
Stafford	1175		63	10			10		63						2
Stafford	1176								63						2
Stafford	1177								63						2
Stafford	1178								63						2
Stafford	1178	33	13	4	25	15		7	18	4					2
Stafford	1179								64						2
Stafford	1180								63						2
Stafford	1180							29	9	8					3
Stafford	1181								63						2

Warwick and Leicester SHIRE	1187	12												4
Year	LbR	ShR	DnR	LbT	ShT	DnT	LbD	ShD	DnD	LbP	ShP	DnP	FOREST	Fine
Warwick and Leicester	1187	7	19		7	19								4
Wiltshire	1171	15	10	2	9	10	2	4	6	8	26	8		3
Wiltshire	1171										6	8		3
Wiltshire	1172						4	6	8				Wiltshire	3
Wiltshire	1173						4	6	8					3
Wiltshire	1174	4	6	8	40			46	8					3
Wiltshire	1174						124	15	8					4
Wiltshire	1175		46	8	6	8					40			3
Wiltshire	1177						12	10	10					3
Wiltshire	1178	12	10	10			80	12	4	2				3
Wiltshire	1178							56						4
Wiltshire	1179						12	4	2					3
Wiltshire	1179							61					Wiltshire	4
Wiltshire	1180						12	4	2					3
Wiltshire	1180							61						4
Wiltshire	1180						38	15	6					4
Wiltshire	1181						12	4	2					3
Wiltshire	1182							61					Wiltshire	4
Wiltshire	1182							111	8					3
Wiltshire	1183							61						4
Wiltshire	1183		111	8	8			103	8					3
Wiltshire	1184							33						4
Wiltshire	1185		33		15			18						4
Wiltshire	1185							37					Wiltshire	1
Wiltshire	1185	23		3	15		4	7	14	11	5			4
Wiltshire	1186							28						4
Wiltshire	1186		37	6				7	6	30				1
Wiltshire	1186	7	14	11		17	5	6	17	6				4
Wiltshire	1187							18						4
Wiltshire	1187		100	20	40	4		61	4					4
Wiltshire	1188							28						4
Wiltshire	1188							5	8					3
Wiltshire	1188		61	4	34	2		27	2					4
Worcester	1170	84		20	77	10		66	8	45				3
Worcester	1170									6	8			3
Worcester	1170									13	4			3
Worcester	1171		66	8	66	8								3
Worcester	1172							13	4					3
Worcester	1178	47	13	4	19	16	6	27	16	10				2

Worcester	1179	27	16	10		10		27	6	10								2
Worcester	1180							27	6	10								2
SHIRE	Year	LbR	ShR	DaR	Lb T	Sh T	Da T	LbD	ShD	Da D	Lb P	Sh P	Da P	FOREST				Fine
Worcester	1180							40	11	4								4
Worcester	1181							27	6	10								2
Worcester	1182	27	6	10		57	4	24	9	6								2
Worcester	1182	40	11	4	22		4	18	11									4
Worcester	1183							24	9	6								2
Worcester	1183	18	11		6	4	8	12	6	4								3
Worcester	1184							24	9	6								2
Worcester	1184	12	6	4		53	2	9	13	2		3						4
Worcester	1185							24	9	6								3
Worcester	1185	9	13	2		24	4	8	8	10								4
Worcester	1185							13	15	6								1
Worcester	1185								20									1
Worcester	1185		92	7		92	7											1
Worcester	1186							24	9	6								3
Worcester	1186							23	15	6								1
Worcester	1186								20									1
Worcester	1187	24	9	6		6	8	24	2	10								3
Worcester	1187							8	2	2								4
Worcester	1187							23	15	6								1
Worcester	1187		20			20												1
Worcester	1187	26	13	11	7	13		19		11								1
York	1173								33	4								4
Yorkshire	1163		26	8		26	8											1
Yorkshire	1167		20				20											1
Yorkshire	1170	217	5	6	180	55	9	18	14	9	6	13	4					4
Yorkshire	1170											25						4
Yorkshire	1170										7	10						4
Yorkshire	1170											6	8					4
Yorkshire	1170	18	14	9	16	14	9		40									4
Yorkshire	1171		40			6	8		33	4								4
Yorkshire	1172								33	4								4
Yorkshire	1175								33	4								4
Yorkshire	1176								33	4								3
Yorkshire	1177								33	4								3
Yorkshire	1177		35	4		7			28	4								3
Yorkshire	1178								33	4								3
Yorkshire	1178		28	4		4			24	4								3
Yorkshire	1178	87	17	8	80	104	2					50		Yorkshire				2
Yorkshire	1178											3		6 Yorkshire				2

APPENDIX C: RECIPIENTS OF PARDONS

Information in the table below represents the data sorted according to pardons extended. It is sorted by the name of the pardoned person or group, as the information is presented in the second half of Part II.

The following abbreviations are used for the various headings:

Shire = County or Shire in which the account was reported.

Year = The year in which the fine was reported.

LbP, ShP & DnP = Pounds, Shillings, and Pennies pardoned on the account.

Name of Pardoned = The name of the individual/group in receipt of the pardon.

Fine = The nature of the fine (1 = Assarts; 2 = Assarts and Waste; 3 = Assarts, Waste, and Pleas of the Forest; 4 = Assarts and other offenses).

Forest = What forest, if any, the offenses were specified to have occurred in.

Shire	Year	Lb P	Sh P	Dn P	Name of Pardoned	Fine	Forest
Essex and Hertford	1171		52	10	Acra, Derkin de/Kemesoch, Henrico	3	Essex
Essex and Hertford	1181		40		Aemisi, Eudoni filio	4	Essex
Essex and Hertford	1177		16		Ailwardo (camerario)	4	
Essex and Hertford	1176	6	13	4	Alberico, comiti	3	Essex
Essex and Hertford	1177		22		Alchieri, Ricardo filio	4	
Essex and Hertford	1176		3		Aldelini, Wilhelmo filio (depiferi)	3	Essex
Essex and Hertford	1176		9	8	Aldelini, Wilhelmo filio, depiferi	3	
Southampton	1186		6		Ambreberia, ecclesie de	4	
Berkshire	1182		2		Ambreberia, monialibus de	3	
Essex and Hertford	1169		40		Ardra, Arnulfo de	3	
Northampton	1178	6	10		Baldewini, Walkelino filio	2	
Rutland	1181		4		Barre, Rogero	3	
Wiltshire	1171		6	8	Beacet, Thome	3	
Hampshire	1176		100		Bestard, Wilhelmo	3	
Warwick and Leicester	1183		24		Bonloecir, monacis de	2	
Hampshire	1175	13	6	8	Becco, abb' de	3	
Hampshire	1170		40		Becco, Mon de	3	Hampshire
Northampton and Buckingham	1160		6	8	Becco, Monac de	1	
Northampton	1179		2		Becco, monacis de	2	Northampton
Dorset and Somerset	1179			80	Becco, monacis de	4	
Southampton	1179		30		Becco, monacis de	3	
Essex and Hertford	1177		18		Bedmannsburga, Iohanni monacho de	4	
Yorkshire	1170		25		Begelanda, Abb' de	4	
Shropshire	1170		66	8	Beldewes, Abb' de	2	
Essex and Hertford	1181		4		Bello, Abbati de	4	Essex
Essex and Hertford	1171		10		Bello, Abb' de	3	Essex
Shire	Year	Lb P	Sh P	Dn P	Name of Pardoned	Fine	Forest
Surrey	1178		6	8	Bello, ecclesie de	2	

Hamptonshire	1175	46	8	Bertrann', Rob'	3	
Northampton and Buckingham	1160	26	8	Betleden, Monach de	1	
Dorset and Somerset	1175	3	2	Bichelea, Osbo' de	3	
Dorset and Somerset	1177	20	6	Bickele, Osberto	4	
Essex and Hertford	1177	7	6	Blida, Willemo de	4	
Worcester	1170	13	4	Bordenlea, Mon' de	3	
Worcester	1170	45		Briciou, Abbi' S' Aug' de	3	
Gloucester	1178	4 10		Bristou, monachis de Sancto Jacobo de	2	
Hamptonshire	1170	3		Broch, P.	3	Hampshire
Hamptonshire	1170	25		Broch, Rad de	3	Hampshire
Northampton	1175	12		Broch, Rad' de	3	
Hamptonshire	1175	20		Broch', Rad' de	3	
Oxford	1178	30		Caimeto, Willelmo de/Verdun, Radulfo de	2	
Oxford	1171	6	8	Caimeto, Willo' de	3	
Northampton	1178	70		Calz, Rogero de	2	
Essex and Hertford	1169	8 3	8	Campdaen, Amalmo	3	
Berkshire	1175	40		Canuill', Ric' de	3	
Sussex	1181	40		Cantuaricensi, Archiepiscopo	4	
Berkshire	1177	8		Canuill', Gerardo de	4	
Warwick and Leicester	1170	26	4	Canuill', Ric' de	2	Leicester
Northampton	1181	3		Capellano, Nicholao	4	
Essex and Hertford	1171	40		Capre, Adelizie	3	Essex
Berkshire	1175	4		Can, Monial' de	3	
Dorset and Somerset	1172	32		Cauill', Ric' de	3	
Oxford	1170	20		Cauill', Ric. de	3	Oxford
Northampton	1181	13	4	Caaz, Rogero de	4	
Nottingham and Derby	1160	6 13	4	Cestr', Epi	1	
Stafford	1170	25 6	8	Cestr', Epo	2	
Stafford	1170	25 6	8	Cestr', Epo'	2	
Shropshire	1170	40		Chock, Gerardo	2	
Worcester	1184	3		Chokhille, monialibus de	4	
Essex and Hertford	1171		9	Coloc', Abbi' de	3	Essex
Gloucester	1160		80	Comi Legr.	1	
Gloucester	1182	6	8	Crasso, Willelmo	4	
Surrey	1178	13	4	Creon, Mmiratio de	2	
Stafford	1170	3 6	8	Cumbrenara, Mon' de	2	
Stafford	1170	3 6	8	Cumbrenara, Mon' de	2	
Southampton	1182	12		Curci, Willelmo de	3	Hantscr'
Southampton	1182	9		Curci, Willelmo de	4	
Southampton	1182	129	10	Curci, Willelmo de	4	Hantscr'
Devenshire	1178	57	8	Curtas, Reginaldo	4	
Berkshire	1177	6		Curtas', Reginaldo de	4	
Berkshire	1176		80	Curtasni, Reginaldo de	3	
Devenshire	1177	57	8	Curtasni, Reginaldo de	3	
Shire	Year	Lb P Sh P Dn P		Name of Pardoned		Fine Forest
Buckingham and Bedford	1178	13	4	Curtasni, Reginaldo de	2	Buckingham
Essex and Hertford	1177	15		Curtasni, Roberto de	4	

Northampton	1178	76			Curtensi, Roberto de	2	
Northampton	1181	40			Curtensi, Roberto de	4	
Surrey	1177	30			Dona, Radulfo de	4	
Nottingham and Derby	1160	13	4		Derbi, Abbt' de	1	
Hamptonshire	1170	17	4		Dinan, Roll. De	3	Hampshire
Northampton	1181	26	8		Dinan, Rolland' de	4	
Northampton	1178	10			Dinan, Rollando de	2	
Yorkshire	1178	50			Eboracensi, Alano canonico	2	Yorkshire
Essex and Hertford	1177	68	2		Elyensi episcopo, Galfrido	4	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1176	53	4		Elyensi, episcopo	2	Huntingdon
Essex and Hertford	1184	111	8		Elyensi, episcopo	3	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1177	25	6		Elyensi, Galfrido (episcopo)	4	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1181	39			Elyensi, Galfrido episcopo	3	Huntingdon
Essex and Hertford	1181	6	7	2	Elyensi, Galfrido episcopo	4	Essex
Essex and Hertford	1177	60			Erasi, Eadoni filio	4	
Berkshire	1177	48	4		Etton', prioresse de	4	
Essex and Hertford	1181	4			Eue, comitane de Hybernia	4	Essex
Surrey	1179	6			Exoniensi, episcopo	4	
Devonshire	1182	16			Exoniensi, episcopo	3	
Rutland	1170	50			Feraris, Walkelino de	2	
Rutland	1181	100			Ferraris, Walkelino de	3	
Hamptonshire	1175	2			Foillet, Ric'	3	
Berkshire	1175	32			Fonte Ebrold', Monialib' de	3	
Northampton and Buckingham	1160	26	8		Ger, Hear' fil	1	
Buckingham and Bedford	1170	30	8		Ger. Cam., Hear' fil	3	Bedfordshire
Glooucester	1181	7	4		Gloecr', Comiti	2	
Glooucester	1181	15	4		Gloecr', Comiti de	4	
Northampton and Buckingham	1160	20			Gubain, Uxori Hag'	1	
Hereford in Wales	1181	30			Hadewi, Wilhelmo	4	
Essex and Hertford	1171	2	6		Hadfeld, Walto' de	3	Essex
Shropshire	1170	20			Hagenno, Abbt' de	2	
Surrey	1177	75			Haliwell', monialibus de	4	
Surrey	1182	45			Haliwelle, monialibus de	4	
Wiltshire	1171	26	8		Ham', Willo' fil	3	
Northampton and Buckingham	1160	40			Hammeclepe, Hugo de	1	
Northampton	1175	52	6		Hammeclepe, Hag' de	3	
Hereford in Wales	1178	60			Hatewi, Wilhelmo	3	
Southampton	1177	15			Herleberga, Ade de	4	
Hamptonshire	1175	13	4		Hiebiga', Ade de	3	
Carlisle	1170	100			Holcotana, Mon. de	3	Carlrel.
Hamptonshire	1176	9	7	2	hominibus ... Anderna	3	
Shire			Year	Lb P Sh P Du P	Name of Pardoned		Fine Forest
Northampton and Buckingham	1160			26	8 Hospital, frib.	1	
Nottingham and Derby	1160			60	hospitali, frib' de	1	
Essex and Hertford	1178			37	Hospitalis, fratribus	4	Essex
Hereford in Wales	1178			6	Hospitalis, fratribus	3	

Cambridge and Huntingdon	1178		2		Hospitalis, fratribus	4	
Buckingham and Bedford	1185		12		6 Hospitalis, fratribus	4	
Essex and Hertford	1176		35	11	Hospitalis de Ierusalem, fratribus	3	Essex
Southampton	1179		15		Hospitalis, fratribus	4	
Essex and Hertford	1171		102		Hum', Ric' de (const')	3	Essex
Northampton	1178	12	6	8	Hum', Ricardo de (coestabulario)	2	
Northampton and Buckingham	1160		59	6	Humez, Ric. (Const.)	1	
Hamptonshire	1170		6	8	Humez, Ric. (Coest.)	3	Hampshire
Northampton	1181		116	8	Humez, Wilhelmo de, coestabulario	4	
Northampton	1171		20		In solis per br. R.	2	
Hamptonshire	1170		6	8	Insula, Walto. De	3	Hampshire
Essex and Hertford	1177		9		Iohanni filio Iohanni	4	
Essex and Hertford	1172		57	6	Iord', Ade fil' (Cam')	3	
Nottingham and Derby	1172			80	Iord, Ade fil, Cam.	1	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1165			80	Ipsi Gaufr.	1	
Buckingham and Bedford	1185			6	Ierusalem, fratribus Hospitalis de	4	
Essex and Hertford	1177		24		Kemenka, Henrico de	4	
Yorkshire	1170	7	10		Kerkestalf, Abb' de	4	
Yorkshire	1178		3	6	Kyrkestal, monachis de	2	Yorkshire
Shropshire	1178		10	6	Laci, Almarico de	2	
Yorkshire	1170	6	13	4	Laci, Henr' de	4	
Hereford in Wales	1170		13	4	Laci, Hug. de	2	
Gloucester	1182		13	4	Laci, Hugoni de	4	
Berkshire	1175		17	4	Lamval', Will' de	3	
Essex and Hertford	1177		47	6	Lannal, Wilhelmo	4	
Northampton	1181		13	4	Lannal, Wilhelmo de	4	
Essex and Hertford	1181		14	6	Lannal', Wilhelmo de	4	Essex
Essex and Hertford	1170		11	8	Lannalo, Will'	3	
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1184		53		Lincolniensi, episcopo	3	
Northampton	1182	21	12		Lioris, Wilhelmo de	2	
Northampton	1182		61		Lioris, Wilhelmo de	4	
Berkshire	1177		18		Lond', Wilhelmo de	4	
Berkshire	1175		33		Lond', Willo' de	3	
Nottingham and Derby	1172		26	8	Luci, Ric' de	3	Berchac'
Essex and Hertford	1175		7	6	Luci, Ric' de	3	Essex
Berkshire	1175	4	14	6	Luci, Ric' de	3	
Berkshire	1177		109	6	Luci, Ricardo de	4	
Berkshire	1177		50		Luci, Ricardo de	4	
Essex and Hertford	1177		5	6	Luci, Richardi de	4	
Northampton	1175		75		Mald', Willo' (Cam')	3	
Shire		Year	Lb P	Sh P	Da P	Name of Pardoned	Fine Forest
Buckingham and Bedford	1170		58	4	Mald. Cam., Willo.	3	Buckingham
Northampton and Buckingham	1160		66	8	Mald., Willo	1	
Hamptonshire	1170		6	8	Mald., Willo (Cam)	3	Hampshire
Hamptonshire	1175		26	8	Malucin, Will'	3	
Surrey	1178		26	8	Malucin, Wilhelmo de	2	

Berkshire	1175	34			Mantf, Willo' de (comiti)	3		
Berkshire	1175	65			Mantf, Willo' de (comiti)	3		
Berkshire	1177	25			Mandeuilf, Wilhelmo de (comiti)	4		
Berkshire	1177	47			6 Mandeuilf, Wilhelmo de (comiti)	4		
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1176	2	13		4 Mandevill, Wilhelmo de (comiti)	2	Huntingdon	
Essex and Hertford	1171	18	9		4 Mandevill, Willo' de (comiti)	3	Essex	
Essex and Hertford	1177	17	11		Mandeville, Wilhelmo	4		
Essex and Hertford	1177		8		6 Mantell, Roberto	4		
Somerset	1171	6	13		4 Meduana, Galf' de	3	Dorset	
Hampshire	1175	100			Meini, Rob' de	3		
Wiltshire	1185		5		Meleford, Gilleberto de	4		
Southampton	1179		7		Mereton, canonicis	4		
Surrey	1177	14	6		2 Mereton', canonicis de	4		
Surrey	1177		40		Micheham, Robine de	4		
Buckingham and Bedford	1172		60		4 Mil' de Templo	3	Bedford	
Shropshire	1178		13		milibus de Templo	2		
Wiltshire	1186		30		monachis (ipsis)	1		
Glocester	1179	100			Muschet, Roberto	2		
Northampton	1178		4		Nicholao capellano Reg'	2		
Northampton	1178		3		Nicholao capellano Reg'	2		
Northampton	1178	17	10		Peini, Roberto de/Wascuil, Gilleberto de	2		
Northampton	1175	8	4		4 Peini, Robto' de	3		
Northampton	1185	7	6		8 Peini, Willemus (ipsi Wilhelmo)	1		
Worcester	1170		6		8 Pic', Arch'	3		
Dorset and Somerset	1172		6		8 Pic', Archid'	3		
Northampton and Buckingham	1160		10		Pinchini, Gilto de	1		
Hampshire	1175		13		4 Pinking', Vicedao' de	3		
Northampton	1184		13		4 Pipard', Gilleberto	4		
Northampton and Buckingham	1160		26		8 Pipewell, Monach de	1		
Northampton	1181	7	3		4 Pipewell, monachis de	4		
Northampton	1178		8		12 Pipewell, monachis de	2		
Surrey	1178		53		4 Pontino, Engelramo dapifero de	2		
Northampton and Buckingham	1160		20		R., Willo' fri	1		
Berkshire	1173		36		8 Radding, Abbi de	3		
Stafford	1170		6		8 Rademora, Canon' de	2		
Stafford	1170		6		8 Rademora, Canon' de	2		
Berkshire	1177	7	19		Rading', abbati de	4		
Berkshire	1175	13			16 Rading', Mon' de	3		
Shire		Year	Lb P	Sh P	Dn P	Name of Pardona	Fine	Forest
Essex and Hertford	1177					6 Radf', Rogero filio	4	
Nottingham and Derby	1178			20		Roberti, Hugni filio	2	
Essex and Hertford	1177			10		Rochella, Roberto de	4	
Hampshire	1175			26		8 Roth', Archepo'	3	
Hampshire	1170			20		Roth, Archiepo	3	Hampshire
Southampton	1182				640	Rothomagensi, Archiepiscopo	4	Hantecr'
Southampton	1182			33		Rothomagensi, Archiepiscopo	4	Hantecr'

Southampton	1182	12		Rothomagensi, Archiepiscopo	4 Hantecr'					
Southampton	1179	12		Rothomagensi, archiepiscopo, et canonicis	4					
Nottingham and Derby	1172	13	6	8 Rufford, Mon' de	2					
Nottingham and Derby	1178	26		8 Rufford, monachis de	2					
Essex and Hertford	1177	34		Ruilli, Roberto	4					
Essex and Hertford	1171	15		Ruillf, Robto' de	3 Essex					
Nottingham and Derby	1161	20		Runfort, Mon. de	1					
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1171	5		S' Mauro, Galf' de	2					
Gloucester	1186	60		Saecto Jacobo de Britou, monachis de	1					
Somerset	1171	26		8 Sco' Marie, Rob' de (ecclia)	3 Dorset					
Stafford	1171	26		8 Sco' Ebraldo, Mon' de	2					
Northampton and Buckingham	1160	27		Sco Edmo, Abbi de	1					
Northampton and Buckingham	1160	53		4 Scotie, tra Reg.	1					
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1170	4	13	4 Scottie, Regi	2					
Surrey	1179	75		See Misc.	2					
Buckingham and Bedford	1186			12 See Misc.	3 Bucks'					
Northampton	1181	3		Sewardalega, monialibus	4					
Northampton	1175	60		Sewini, Robto' fil	3					
Somerset	1171	6	13	4 St. Pancratio, Rob. de	3 Dorset					
Essex and Hertford	1169	2		Stanneda, Canon de	3					
Essex and Hertford	1169			12 Stanneda, Canon de	3					
Gloucester	1178	40		Stephani, Radulfo filio (canonario)	2					
Berkshire	1175	13		4 Stratford, Mon de	3					
Essex and Hertford	1177	60		Strigul, Esc comitane de	4					
Somerset	1171	40		Stutevill, Nichol' de	3 Dorset					
Oxford	1178	4		Templo, militibus de	2					
Oxford	1178	20		Templo, militibus de	2					
Buckingham and Bedford	1185	45		Templi, Militis	2					
Shropshire	1170	53		4 Templo, Mil' de	2					
Cambridge and Huntingdon	1177	4		Templo, militibus de	4					
Oxford	1177	13		4 Templo, militibus de	3					
Berkshire	1177			80 Templo, militibus de	3					
Berkshire	1177	33		Templo, militibus de	4					
Buckingham and Bedford	1177	4	10	Templo, militibus de	4					
Northampton	1178	3		4 Templo, militibus de	2					
Buckingham and Bedford	1178	7		Templo, militibus de	4 Bedfordshire					
Shire	Year	Lb	P	Sh	P	Da	P	Name of Pardoned	Fine	Forest
Hereford in Wales	1179	14						Templo, militibus de	3	
Oxford	1185			20				Templo, militibus de	1	
Northampton and Buckingham	1160			13				4 teplo, militib de	1	
Surrey	1181	25						Tichon, Alexandro de	4	
Yorkshire	1170	6						8 Turneafa, Stepho' de	4	
Surrey	1181	9						Valoignis, Hamoni de	4	
Gloucester	1187	7						6 Vbrani, Roguro filio	1	
Northampton	1175	40						Venstori, Will'	3	

Northampton and Buckingham	1160	13	4 Ver, Gaufr' de	1
Northampton	1182	6	8 Ver, Henrico de	4
Berkshire	1175	13	4 Verus, Will' de	3
Gloucester	1187	10	Vrbani, Rogero filio	1
Warwick and Leicester	1170	8	4 Vrsi, Regin' fil'	2 Leicester
Buckingham and Bedford	1186	6	8 Waltham, abbati de	3
Essex and Hertford	1180	2	6 Waltham, canonicis de	4
Essex and Hertford	1177	24	Waltham, ecclesie Sancte Crucis	4
Southampton	1177	19 17	Waverlai, abbati et monachis	4
Surrey	1177	4 2	4 Waverlai, monachis de	4
Southampton	1182	10	Waverlay, monachis de	4 Hants
Surrey	1182	40	Waverlay, monachis de	4
Hampshire	1172	7	Weslai, Mon' de	3 Hampshire
Essex and Hertford	1171	5	3 Wigo'	3 Essex
Gloucester	1182	100	Wigorniaci, Baldeuino, episcopo	2
Hampshire	1175	30	Will', Alard' fil'	3
Hampshire	1170	10	Willi, Alard fil.	3 Hampshire
Wiltshire	1175	40	Wint' Epo', Ric'	3
Essex and Hertford	1175	4	Wint', Epo'	3 Essex
Southampton	1178	46 3	4 Wintoniaci, episcopo	3
Surrey	1178	10	Wintoniaci, Ricardo episcopo	4
Southampton	1178	100	Wintoniaci, episcopus	4 Hampshire

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